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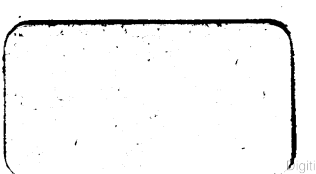

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THE WORKS OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

Volume VII.

Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT

With a Biographical Introduction

By Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, M. P.

Historical and
Political Tracts—
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PREFACE

SWIFT'S writings for the Harley Administration form a body of political literature as distinguished for its versatility as it is characteristic of the man and his times. It is true these writings are the expression of a party point of view and are often marred by a strong private and personal bias. As might be expected they evince much of the weakness which is inevitable to all purely special pleadings. In spite, however, of these blemishes, and in spite of the fact that they were written for an occasion, these political tracts are remarkable for their masterly presentation of special theses; for the simple and select expression of complicated conditions; for their eloquence and passion; for their illuminating flashes of satire; and, more than all, for the power which lifts an argument for a party into the broader and larger field of a principle or a law of nations. Even the special pleadings, apart from the purpose they were intended to serve, have their spring in what, to use a metaphysical term, may be called "true universals."

Swift had a terrible gift of insight into human nature and a remarkable clarity of vision into the forces which condition the interaction and play of character on character. These attributes enabled him, not merely to see how and why events occurred, but how best to move those to whom he addressed himself, and thus effect the purpose in hand. Herein lay the weight of his influence as a pamphleteer on the people of his day. There is, in these writings, the fine

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quality of great oratory. They persuade by their very simplicity, yet leave the impression of carefully reasoned conclusions from self-evident premises. They arrest attention at the outset, and they hold that attention in eager expectancy and interested curiosity to the very end.

Swift came to London, a humble petitioner on behalf of the clergy of Ireland. He left it finally, nearly four years later, a disappointed and saddened man, it is true, but his name had become a synonym for power. In those four years he had advanced from a seeker of favours into a dispenser of them. By his sheer personal genius of character he had obtained an influence of a kind which no purely literary man has ever obtained either before or since his time. So indispensable had he made himself to the ministers that his slightest fancies had but to be expressed to find fulfilment. With the successful issue to each effort came to his contemporaries the realization of the master-mind that had arisen in their midst. To Swift, however, success meant power and the right to use it. He knew himself, as all great minds know themselves, to be possessed of unusual gifts, and the vindication of himself in the eyes of the world brought with it a lordly complacency which came natural to him. To a man of his temper this complacency had little in it of humility. It meant an arrogant insistence upon himself as a fact. He had waited long for the opportunity, and now that it had come, he made the fullest use of it to indulge his masterful character. In particular, he seemed to take delight in an almost brutal condescension to the lords and ladies of the social life above him. It mattered little who he or she was—Harley, St. John, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duchess of Shrewsbury, Lady Ashburnham, or any other—Swift made him understand that he was more than his equal. "I use them like dogs," he wrote to Stella. The times bred the man—they were times full of meaning and potentiality for England then and to come, the struggle

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for supremacy between the monarchy and the people—and the man expressed and justified the times. He towered head and shoulders above his fellows. Neither Arbuthnot, nor Prior, nor Pope, nor Steele, nor Addison, nor Gay, nor even Bolingbroke himself, had that independence of character which compelled homage and which is the mark of the born leader of men. Nor did they possess that special perfection of literary expression which could so touch human passions that its largest measure of persuasive power came from the very passions it aroused, and which is the mark of the born orator. Yet this was the man who seemed, as it were, fated to be the right man in the wrong place. Addison could be a Secretary, Prior an ambassador, Wharton a governor, Boulter a Primate, while the man who could weigh and hold them all in the palm of his hand had to beg and be denied the paltry office of a historiographer. The explanation must lie in the fact that Swift had the temper which brings fear; and his political friends dreaded him only a little less than did his political enemies. He was too mighty a force to be intrusted with high executive position, and he was grudgingly retired from the arena of active politics with the Deanery of St. Patrick's.

As a political adviser Swift had that sanity which is the outcome of an impassioned insight into character reacting on an intellect that reasoned rightly by instinct. The "Memoirs relating to the change in the Queen's Ministry," the "Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs," and the "Considerations upon the Consequences hoped and feared from the Death of the Queen," amply bear out this claim. They are all marked by a statesmanlike grasp of affairs, and though these found him a nearly interested party, yet the fact did not blur his vision. They show also the uncommon shrewdness which Swift possessed. With all his disdain for the men and women who made up the society of his day, his judgment of them invariably allowed for the in-

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stinctive acts of mankind as well as for the premeditated ones.

As a political friend he was staunch to the last degree. Harley and Bolingbroke he served faithfully and, we believe, disinterestedly—certainly as much for the love he bore them as for any hope of personal gain or advancement. When, finally, he left them to themselves, it was only after he was convinced that all his efforts could avail nothing. But he had given them of his best, and had done for them what it was possible for no other man of his day to do. "The Conduct of the Allies" is the most successful effort ever made on behalf of a ministry by any single writer of any age. The popularity of even a Marlborough in the midst of his victories and at the height of his career, could not stand before its trenchant criticism and persuasive argument.

As a political enemy he was a man to be dreaded. On this side he stopped at nothing. His "Character of Wharton" is a sufficient example of the lengths he could go to blast an opponent, or satisfy an animosity born of a public grievance. His treatment of Steele proves how effectively he could erase the ink-stains of a meddler in state affairs. "The Importance of the Guardian Considered" may be taken as the personal side of a quarrel which obtained its impersonal view in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs"—a piece of argument and scornful invective which remains a masterpiece to-day, and which stood then, in the midst of a crisis, that produced almost a literature in itself, the strangest and strongest expression of political attack and defence.

The present volume contains sufficient material to vindicate amply, not merely the high part Swift played in the political struggles of the last four years of the reign of Anne, but the claim that can be made for him that his was one of the profoundest minds of his day. We do not mean to say that he was distinguished for pure thinking in the sense in

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which that phrase is applied to Kant or Newton. That was not at all Swift's genius. His depth of reflective activity lay in his knowledge of character and the application he made of that knowledge for the purpose of practical affairs. In an eminent degree he had the mind of the statesman who is compelled to deal with conditions as they are, and not as they might be; and the depth of his thinking is in proportion to the narrowness of his point of view. A Whig in early life, circumstances made him a Tory; but party never strongly held him when the Church stood in danger. In whatever party he may be classed the genius of the man was above all parties. One can but dimly appreciate his feelings on finding himself serving as a Grub Street hack; and one need not be surprised that he took occasion by the ear and stalked the antechambers of the ministers as if he were the man and not they. Indeed for that matter, he "walked the earth unguessed at." It was only in later years that the men of his time came to know him a little better. Perhaps Walpole, too, was afraid of him.

Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift's Works, issued in a revised form in 1824, contained much either that Swift did not write or with which he had but little to do. These tracts have been omitted from this collection, and it is hoped that what is here given may stand for Swift's actual work. The only tract about which a question may be raised is that entitled, "A Learned Comment on Dr. Hare's Sermon," and the reason for its inclusion has been given in the note prefixed to the text. Further points will be discussed in the bibliography to be printed in the last volume.

The editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude for able assistance to Mr. W. Spencer Jackson who has carefully collated texts, to Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis, and to the late Colonel F. Grant. His indebtedness must also be recorded to the many published works on

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Swift and his times. In particular, he owes much to the researches of Sir Henry Craik, Mr. J. Churton Collins, Mr. G. A. Aitken, and the writers in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Mr. Walter Sichel's careful study of Bolingbroke came a little late; but his apology for Bolingbroke on the Catalan affair has been noted, though leave is here taken to differ from the able apologist.

Acknowledgment must again be made to Sir Frederick Falkiner for his help in the matter of the Swift portraits. Finally, the editor begs to thank the publishers heartily for their indulgence for the unavoidable delay in the appearance of the present volume.

TEMPLE SCOTT.

GLEN RIDGE,
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May 16, 1901.

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A SHORT CHARACTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS EARL OF WHARTON,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

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NOTE.

THE Right Hon. Thomas Wharton (1645?-1715) was the third, but eldest, surviving son of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton. He was member for Wendover (1673-1678) and Buckinghamshire (167⅝). He succeeded his father as fifth Lord Wharton, February 5th, 169⅝. In 1706 he was created Earl of Wharton, and in 1714-15 Marquess of Wharton and Malmesbury. During the reign of James II. he was a strong opponent of court measures, and Judge Jeffries did all in his power to prevent his re-election to parliament in 1685. It is supposed that he drew up the draft of the invitation to the Prince of Orange in 1688. Whether he did or no is not certain; but he was in great favour with that prince throughout his reign in England. Under William he was Privy Councillor (1688-9); Comptroller of the King's Household (1689-1702); "Chief Justice in Eyre of all his forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, south of Trent" (1697-1702); Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire (1697-1702), as well as of Bucks (1702). When the Grand Alliance was formed he accompanied William to the Hague (1690-1). He took an active part in the debate in the House of Lords relative to the Partition Treaty, and Burnet tells us that it was he who moved that the King should treat no more with the French King, nor rely on his word without further security.

On the accession of Queen Anne he was removed from his various appointments; but he made himself conspicuous by the part he took in the conference with the House of Commons against the bill for Occasional Conformity, and his support of the five Aylesbury men who were imprisoned for breach of privilege in 1704. In 1705 the University of Cambridge presented him with the honorary degree of LL.D. A fair insight into Lord Wharton's character, and one which would seem to go a long way to justify Swift's "character," may be obtained from reading Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet's "History" (vol. v., p. 242, 1833, Oxford), in which is given a hint of Wharton's abominable conduct in a church.

Wharton was one of the Commissioners for the Union of Scotland appointed April 10th, 1706. In 1708 he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Joseph Addison was his Irish Secretary. In his essay on Addison Macaulay thus refers to Wharton: "The Lord Lieutenant was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the Secretary's gentleness and delicacy." And yet for this man the Irish House of Lords, in their address to the Queen, returned their thanks to Her Majesty for sending "a person of so great wisdom and experience" to be their chief governor. He was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond in 1710.

During the latter part of Anne's reign he strongly opposed court measures, and was one of the famous Junto so often abused by Swift.

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He was prominent in the prosecution against Dr. Sacheverell, and procured the appointment of Sir Thomas Parker as Lord Chief Justice, as a reward for his services in that affair. It was on his complaint, on March 2nd, 1713-14, against Swift's "Public Spirit of the Whigs," that the House of Lords condemned that pamphlet. (See note in present volume, p. 319).

He was censured for receiving £1,000 from George Hutchisson to procure for that person the post of Register of Seizures in the Custom House.

In 1713 and 1714 he was much in evidence against the Pretender; and when George I. arrived in England he was restored to the Privy Council and created a Marquess. His son Philip, by his second wife, Lucy Loftus, daughter of Lord Lisburne, was created Duke of Wharton.

Mr. Robert Harrison, in "The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," describes him as "the profligate son of a puritanical father, and the father of a son more licentious than himself."

Dr. Birch says that "King William was duly sensible of his services before and at the Revolution," and Wharton "received the utmost proofs of confidence and respect, and had the King's most intimate designs communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the government was well assured."

Mr. Solomon Bolton in his "Extinct Peerage" (1769), speaks of him as "a worthy complete statesman, a principal promoter of the Revolution, zealous for the Hanover settlement, of great sagacity, elocution, and spirit."

Lord Dartmouth, in one of his notes to Burnet's "History," says: "This charming Lord Wharton had the most provoking, insolent manner of speaking that I ever observed in any man, without any regard to civility or truth." And Mr. Onslow, in another note to the same work (vol. v., 1833, Oxford), remarks: "He was extremely odious to the Tories, and as much regarded by the Whigs, to whom he was always very firm and of great use from his abilities, especially in Parliament."

Macaulay, describing the man in his "History," writes of him, under date 1693: "He was in his 47th year, but was still a young man in constitution, in appearance, and in manners . . . . The most dissolute cavaliers stood aghast at the dissoluteness of the emancipated precisian. . . . To the end of his long life the wives and daughters of his nearest friends were not safe from his licentious plots. . . . To the religion of his country he offered, in the mere wantonness of impiety, insults too foul to be described. . . . He lived in times when faction was almost a madness; and he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of the leader of a faction. There was a single tie which he respected. The falsest of mankind in all relations but one, he was the truest of Whigs." His Whig friends called him "Honest Tom." A fairly impartial delineation of Wharton's character may be found in Coxe's "Marlborough," (vol. i., pp. 257-9, Bohn edit.).

The pamphlet here reprinted is from an edition published in 1711, and "printed for William Coryton, Bookseller, at the Black-Swan on Ludgate Hill." It was written late in August, 1710, and the first edition was issued, probably, in December of the same year.

In his letter to Stella, dated 8th December, 1710, Swift refers to its

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publication: "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against Lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some of his actions; the character is very well, but the facts indifferent. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's lodgings, and I had one or two of them, but nobody knows the author or printer." On the 1st January he again writes to her: "The character is rendered admirable; but most of the facts are trifles. It was first printed privately here, and then some bold cur ventured to do it publicly, and sold two thousand in two days: who the author is must remain uncertain. Do you pretend to know, impudence? How durst you think so?" Probably the "bold cur" is the William Coryton of the Black Swan.

Swift in calling his facts "indifferent" must have meant that he could have made them much stronger had he thought it wise to tell all he knew of his subject. Swift's hatred of the man must be placed to Wharton's infamous government of Ireland, and not so much to his dislike of Wharton's attitude to the ministers of religion. In the "Last Years of Queen Anne," Swift says of Wharton that "he had contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right."

Archbishop King, probably suspecting the author of the "Character," wrote Swift his opinion of it: "We have published here," he writes, "a character of the Earl of Wharton, late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. I have so much charity and justice as to condemn all such proceedings. If a governor behave himself ill, let him be complained of and punished; but to wound a man thus in the dark." The Archbishop's criticism, probably, assisted in the breach which later showed itself more plainly between him and the Dean.

I have been unable to procure a copy of the first edition. Other references by Swift to Wharton may be found in the 13th, 17th, and 22nd letters to the "Examiner," in one of which he is depicted in the character of Verres, the infamous proconsul of Sicily.

[T. S.]

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A ſhort

CHARACTER

OF

His Ex. *T.* E. of *W.*

L. L. of *I*——.

WITH

An Account of ſome ſmaller Facts, during His Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

LONDON:

Printed for *William Coryton*, Bookſeller, at the *Black-Swan* on *Ludgate-hill*, 1711.

Price 4 *d.*

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A SHORT CHARACTER, &c.

August 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors: But the affairs and events in that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour which the gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politics, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those wherein a man would least choose to live; such as the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one: And lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which at present are but imperfect transcripts of ours. But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that whereby the people of Ireland have for some time been distinguished from all Her Majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next.

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And because the relation I am going to make, may be judged rather a history of his excellency, than of his government; I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it: I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach; which is not a humour put on to serve a turn or keep a countenance, not arising from the consciousness of his innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature. He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to those. Whoever were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it for the sake of others, without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love or hate; I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine (for I have the honour of his visits); and when these papers are public, 'tis odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that "he is damnably mauled"; and then with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather or time of the day; so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security his excellency has arrived to, which no philosopher before him could ever reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his excellency and then relating some facts during his government in Ireland, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well that men's characters are best learnt from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in that kingdom, his character may perhaps take in something more, which the narrowness of the time or the scene hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath, some years passed his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of

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old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five-and-twenty. Whether he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the midst of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he most practices, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appear to be more owing to the frequency than the art of them; his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week: He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves and will serve you, and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him, you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a Presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a Papist. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is to endeavour imposing on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths; and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-councillor, by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused; and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendliness on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity in the world, tell you that the faction are driving at something in the House; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, though he knows at the same time that you and your friends are against him in that very point he mentions: And however absurd, ridiculous, and gross, this may appear, he has often found it successful;

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some men having such an awkward bashfulness they know not how to refuse upon a sudden, and every man having something to fear or to hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortunes by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom,[1] and hath raised them by going far in the ruin of another.[2] With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes choice of suitable favourites, whose talent reaches no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue, and he seems to have transferred the talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs: For, as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone at the door and at noonday; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or to advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the commonest affairs, those which would as well be brought about in the ordinary forms, or which would proceed of course whether he intervened or no.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic, and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father.

He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom observe united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other; these are love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure: They ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together: Since he went into that kingdom,[3] he seems most

[1] England. [2] Ireland.

[3] Later texts print "Ireland" in place of the words "that kingdom." [T. S.]

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disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government of under two years, five-and-forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise; as I remember he told a lady, but with an exception to the promise he then made, (which was to get her a pension) yet he broke even that, and I confess, deceived us both. But here, I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has had the fairest offer.

Thus much for his Excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his Excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me, as they came into his memory: So that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, I hope will pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq;[1] surgeon-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the Park. In a corner of the Park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas Earl of Pembroke, then lord-lieutenant,[2] and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the Park: His petition was referred to the lord-treasurer

[1] The ancestor of John Joshua Proby, Earl of Carysfort, who was ambassador to Berlin in 1800. [T. S.]

[2] The Hon. Thomas Herbert (1656?-1733), who succeeded his brother in 1683 as eighth Earl of Pembroke and fifth Earl of Montgomery, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1707-1709. He was the first plenipotentiary at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and Lord President of the Council in 1699-1701 and 1702-1707. He was sword-bearer at the coronation of James II., William and Mary, Anne, George I., and George II. [T. S.]

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here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord-treasurer struck off some part of the rent. He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His Excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and by his absolute authority commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land, which he was forced to do, after all the expense he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time he is under obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent me with the rest, but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here in Town.

Upon his Excellency's being declared lord-lieutenant there came over to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd,[1] Fellow of Dublin-College, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation where he was a member. The merit of this and some other principles suitable to it recommended by Tom Brodrick,[2] so far ingratiated him with his Excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: The doctor attended his Excellency to Ireland, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour, and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle Garden, my lady said to his Excellency, "What do you think? we are going to lose poor Foidy," (a name of fondness they usually gave her). "How do you mean?" said my lord;

[1] Eugene or Owen Lloyd, Dean of Connor in 1710. In 1688 he had been Junior Dean of Trinity College, Dublin. He died in 1743. [T. S.]

[2] Rt. Hon. Thomas Broderick was the elder brother of Alan Broderick, Viscount Midleton, referred to by Swift on p. 23. He was born in 1654, and sat in Irish House of Commons in 1692 and 1715-1722 for Middleton, and in 1695 and 1713 for County Cork. In 1713-1715 he sat in the English House of Commons for Stockbridge, and in 1722-1727 for Guildford. He died in 1730. [T. S.]

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"Why, the doctor behind us is resolved to take her from us:" "Is he, by G—? Why then, G—d d—mn me, he shall have the first bishopric that falls."[1] The doctor thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his Excellency for England, and soon after, the bishopric of Cork[2] falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damosel publicly here in London, and his Excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his Grace of York, interposed with the Queen to hinder so great a scandal to the church, and Dr. Brown,[3] the Provost of Dublin-College being then in town, Her Majesty was pleased to nominate him; so that Dr. Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion than a couple of olive-branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The Queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin-College is of this number, which was now vacant upon the promotion of Dr. Brown: Dr. Benjamin Pratt,[4] a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the House of Commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic

[1] It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his Excellency's, that talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his whore a bishop. [*Original Edition.*]

[2] Scott misprints this as York. [T. S.]

[3] Dr. Peter Brown was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was made Bishop of Cork and Ross in 1710, and died in 1735. In 1697 he published "A Letter in Reply to John Toland's 'Christianity not Mysterious.'" He also wrote "The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding" (1728), "Things Divine and Supernatural Conceived by Analogy" (1733), and many sermons (1749). [T. S.]

[4] Dean of Down in 1717. He was Provost of Trinity College in 1710, and died in 1721. Cotton, in his "Fasti" (vol. v.), identifies Dean Pratt with Benjamin Pratt, LL.D.; but this is an error. The Dean of Down was a Doctor in Divinity, not Laws. There was another Benjamin Pratt, who was an LL.D., as a reference to the Dublin Catalogue of Graduates will show. [T. S.]

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chaplain to the Duke of Ormonde,[1] was at that time here in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: He is a person of wit and learning, has travelled, and conversed in the best company; and was very much esteemed among us here, where I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: But he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependant on the Duke of Ormonde: However, he had many friends among the bishops and other nobility, to recommend him to the Queen. At the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall,[2] who had much the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority. This gentleman had very little produced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense. He had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his Excellency, who had never before seen nor thought on him in his life, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall with all imaginable zeal against Pratt. I tell this story the more circumstantially, because it is affirmed by his Excellency's friends, that he never made more use of

[1] James, second Duke of Ormond, succeeded Wharton as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He had been a Colonel in the second troop of Royal Horse Guards in 1689, and had accompanied William III. to Holland where, at Landen, he was wounded and taken prisoner. He commanded the English soldiers at the wretched expedition to Cadiz, that expedition which brought such infamy on British arms. He was the friend of Bolingbroke and the patron of Steele. It is to him that Steele dedicated his play, "The Lying Lover," and it is of him that Dryden spoke in such praise in the dedication to his "Fables." With Oxford and Bolingbroke he shared in the impeachment in 1715, and like the latter had not the courage to face his accusers, but fled to France, where he spent the rest of his life. With Bolingbroke he became attached to the Pretender's Court, and failed in an attempt to carry the arms of his adopted king into England. He seems to have been a man of small abilities, though placed in high positions, because of his illustrious ancestry. He was certainly no statesman, and his military genius may well rest on the contemptuous criticism of such a high authority as the Duke of Berwick. Even in that licentious age, Ormond was a licentious man; yet showed little of the verve, originality or strength of character which men of free living often display. [T. S.]

[2] Dr. John Hall became a fellow in 1685. [T. S.]

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his court skill than at this time, to hinder Dr. Pratt from the provostship; not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, upon the account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court, which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially the last, of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his Excellency so at his levees; who sometimes could not conceal his surprise, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other, these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulations between his Excellency and the doctor, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him any more; his Excellency went immediately to the Bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the Queen from him, and let Her know, that he never could consent as long as he lived, that Dr. Pratt should be provost, which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message, though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day, the doctor was again with his Excellency and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his Excellency confessed that he did not directly oppose him, but collaterally he did: The doctor a little warmed, said, "No my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the Queen named the doctor to the place, and as a further mortification, just upon the day of his Excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here, I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his Excellency's merits as soon as possible; I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his Excellency's life.

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A relation of several facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland (about three months ago, and) at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.

The Earl of Rochford's[1] regiment of dragoons was embarked for Her Majesty's service abroad on the 27th of August, 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted, in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of Lieutenant-General Harvey's[2] regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded by the Duke of Ormonde; on which occasion the duke had Her Majesty's order only, for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments, but that which was to supply the Earl of Rochford's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April, 1710, and all the pay, from the 27th of August, to that time, being above 5700*l.* was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses: As for the last use, those are always provided out of the funds for providing clothing, and the Duke of Ormonde did so: As for horses wanting they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way, and the keeping the horses did not come to 700*l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament; so there was at least 5000*l.* charged to the nation more than the actual charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd,[3] at first coming over, expected the benefit of

[1] William Henry Zulestein de Nassau succeeded his father as second Earl of Rochford in 1709. He joined the army in 1702, and fought under the Duke of Ormond and the Duke of Marlborough. He was killed under Galway at the Battle of Almanza, July 27th, 1710. [T. S.]

[2] Daniel Harvey, son of Sir Daniel Harvey, became a major in 1691; lieutenant-colonel in 1694; colonel in 1695; brigadier-general in 1703; major-general in 1704; lieutenant-general in 1707; and general in 1709. [T. S.]

[3] The "cast wench" already referred to, who became the wife of Dr. Lloyd. [T. S.]

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the box-money, and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200*l.* but at last was told, she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chambers and other servants would deserve a consideration for their attendance. Accordingly his Excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play, so that by moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000*l.* of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chambers, and the rest made a perquisite to his Excellency, for Mrs. Lloyd having a husband and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met Lieutenant-General Langston[1] in the Court of Requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine, he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity you can to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell;" with which the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, so returned thanks and withdrew; upon which, his Excellency immediately said, "I was forced to speak for him, because a great many of his friends have votes in elections, but damn him, he's a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one May to the Duke of Ormonde, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him, which his grace promised, so May withdrew; as soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel Coward[2] having for some time received pay in two or three regiments of the army, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown, except eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz,[3] under the Duke of

[1] General Francis Langston, who died in 1723. [T. S.]

[2] I cannot identify this Coward. [T. S.]

[3] An expedition originally planned by King William III. against Philip of Spain, and attempted after his decease on the advice of Marlborough. Unfortunately for the expedition the Duke of Ormond was not the man to take charge of it. Dissensions between the Dutch

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Ormonde, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applies to his Excellency, who gave him so favourable a report that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* a day, which he reckoning as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the Queen for 10*s.* a day more to be added; which being referred to his Excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof 'tis hoped his merit will be farther rewarded.

He turned out the poor gatekeeper at Chapelizod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As to the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building it, till upon enquiring into the funds they were found to hold out so well, that there was an absolute necessity of destroying about sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his Excellency for that time could hardly have the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occasion many projects were proposed, all which at last, gave way to a proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good, which was, That forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose; which was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, in his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving money for any other use, as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he

and English troops, and between the soldiers and sailors, followed by a total lack of discipline, produced most disgraceful scenes. Instead of proceeding to attack the Spaniards, the army was allowed to waste time in disgusting plunder and outrage. "Churches were robbed," says Macaulay, "images were pulled down; nuns were violated. The officers shared the spoil instead of punishing the spoilers; and at last the armament, loaded, to use the words of Stanhope, 'with a great deal of plunder and infamy,' quitted the scene of Essex's glory, leaving the only Spaniard of note who had declared for them to be hanged by his countrymen." [T. S.]

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shewed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of to have it pass, though the money was applied in it to the building one arsenal, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia: So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his Excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance board, who were an office to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any farther charge to the public; and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole; then thinking this too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendent at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week, and these were almost all persons that had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it hath since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them, insomuch that the work that they have overseen, which, with their salaries, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate; and this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, is only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq;[1] as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue, for sealing writs in the Queen's business, and shewed them for it some sort of precedents; but they not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners (then in London) to enquire the practice there; he sent them word

[1] Represented county Wexford in the Irish Parliament from 1692 to 1714. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland from 1695 to 1717. [T. S.]

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upon enquiry, that fees were paid in the like cases there; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore that was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his Excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor-general, that when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said, he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money (being about two hundred pounds *per annum*). But never found any fault in the commissioners who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald,[1] father to the present Earl of Kildare, had a grant from King Charles the Second of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of Captain Chambre Brabazon,[2] now Earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the present Earl of Kildare, which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed, with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum;* and after his death, his son George enjoyed it, till my Lord Galway[3] did, by threats,

[1] The Hon. Robert FitzGerald (1639?-169⅞) was the youngest son of the sixteenth Earl of Kildare, father of the nineteenth earl, and grandfather of the Duke of Leinster. In the reign of James II. his estates were sequestered. He married in 1663. In 1690, after the battle of the Boyne, he saved Dublin from being sacked. He was the author of two publications: "Salt Water Sweetened" (1683), and "A Full and True Account of the Late Revolution in Dublin" (1690). [T. S.]

[2] The Hon. Chambre Brabazon (1645?-1715) was the youngest son of the second Earl of Meath. He succeeded his brother as fifth earl in 1707. He sat for Dublin in the Irish Parliament in 1692, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1710. He fought as a captain of horse in 1689. [T. S.]

[3] Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny (1648-1720), was born in Paris. He came to England in 1688, and in 1692 was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland. In 1704 he was made a general, and commanded the English army in Portugal in 1704-1705, and in Spain in 1706-1709. He was a Lord Justice of Ireland (1697-1701 and 1715-1716), was created Viscount Galway in 1692, and earl in 1697. His campaigns in Portugal were extremely unfortunate, since he was defeated at Almanza and at La Gudiña; and although a far more experienced soldier than the intrepid and wayward Peterborough, whom he succeeded, he was, like him, finally recalled, and had to defend himself before the House of Lords. In spite of Marlborough's championship of his friend, a Vote of Censure was passed on Galway, while Peterborough received a Vote of Thanks. See Coxe's "Marlborough" (Bohn's Library), Lord Mahon's "History of the Reign of

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compel him to surrender the said patent, for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present Earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of the said patent, which should have come to him, the Earl of Meath being still alive; therefore, in order to right himself, did petition Her Majesty, which petition, as usual, was referred to the Earl of Wharton, the lord-lieutenant, who being then in London, according to the common method on such occasions, referred it to the lord chancellor and Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby,[1] the then lords justices of this kingdom, who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to inquire whether the Earl of Kildare had any legal title to the said patent, which he in a full report said he had: And they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it useful and necessary for Her Majesty's service; he gave in his report, and said, He thought it was both useful and necessary, and with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: First, that the muster-master-general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000*l. per annum*, so having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: And Secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord-lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary. But Colonel P——r[2] the muster-master-general being then in London, and having given my lord-lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got Her Majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a

Queen Anne," vol. ii., and Macaulay's "Review of 'Mahon's War of the Succession in Spain'" ("Essays," vol. ii., 1898). [T. S.]

[1] Richard Ingoldsby entered the army in 1667, and became lieutenant-general in 1704. He fought under William III. and Marlborough. He was a Lord Justice of Ireland (1709-1712), and died in Dublin in 1712. [T. S.]

[2] This may be the Colonel Pepper mentioned by Froude in his "English in Ireland." There was a John Pepper who was a brigadier-general at the time Swift wrote; but if he be the same person Swift would certainly have given him his proper title. [T. S.]

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troublesome spy upon him, so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, that in consideration thereof, his Excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices' report, as ever she had done against the Tories; and my lord-lieutenant prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he controlled it himself, which (now having given his word for it) he will beyond all doubt, effectually do for the future; though since, it plainly has been made appear, that for want of some control on that office, Her Majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his Excellency's government, of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been inquired after, for fear it should make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His Excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and of course all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity. A captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him, and accordingly for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who at the same time applied to his Excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in Her Majesty's service in Spain, and absent by Her Majesty's licence; his Excellency hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of his here; and so notwithstanding all the commander of the regiment could urge, he gave the company that was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, that was a disputable title, to the gentleman that paid his money for that which was surrendered.

Talking one morning as he was dressing (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council about the affair of

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Trim,[1] he said the Lord Chief Justice Dolben [2] had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stript off, and be whipt at the cart-arse; and in less than a quarter of an hour repeated the expression again; yet some days after, sent Dr. Lambert [3] to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after while he was in England, he made it his utmost efforts with the Queen to turn him out, but could not. So when he came once again he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly Lord Chief Justice Dolben, that perhaps some officious persons would spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of 'em a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but on the contrary, would always, without distinction, shew every body his favours as they behaved themselves;[4] which the Lord Chief Justice Brodrick was pleased to approve of, by saying, "That was very honourable, that was very gracious," though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering [5] assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body, without distinction, might depend on his favour as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly. And as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "Damn me, how easily he is bit!"

When the Duke of Ormonde was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders [6] the government of Wicklow

[1] See "Journal to Stella" (November 30th, 1710), also note on p. 63 of the present edition of the "Journal." [T. S.]

[2] Scott notes this as being Sir William Dolben, Bart., Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1714-1720, but Sir William died in 1694. This reference must be to Sir Gilbert Dolben, or Dolbyn, eldest son of John Dolben, Archbishop of York (1658-1722), who was Justice of the Common Pleas from 1701-1720. Beatson's "Political Index," however, gives his name as "Sir William Dolben, Bart." [T. S.]

[3] Robert Lambert was of Trinity College, and chaplain to Lord Wharton in 1708. He was Dean of Down in 1709, Bishop of Dromore in 1717, and Bishop of Meath in 1728-1733. He died in 1733. He published several sermons and pamphlets. [T. S.]

[4] Later texts have: "show his regard according to merit." [T. S.]

[5] Dr. Heneage Dering, afterwards Dean of Ripon. [T. S.]

[6] Anderson Saunders represented Toghmor in the Irish House of Commons from 1692 till 1717. He died in 1719. [T. S.]

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Castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12*l. per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his Excellency not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremonies or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to Jennings the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining.

Some time after his Excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to Jennings, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge use to give away things without enquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered, "He was very glad to find what was done, was not out of any particular displeasure to him, because Mr. Whitshed[1] had said at Wicklow (by way of apology for what his Excellency had done) that it was occasioned by Mr. Saunders's having it; and seeing his Excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his Excellency it was not legally given away, (for he had a *custodium* for the land out of the Court of Exchequer); so his Excellency's commission to Jennings could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-General Echlin[2] had pay on this establishment as brigadier, to the middle of October, 1708, at which time he was removed from it by his Excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and Lieutenant-General Gorges[3] was put in his room. Some time after Major-General Rooke,[4] considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded that Gorges could not come on, till some

[1] This is the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed (1656?-1727) with whom Swift had more to do during the famous agitation on Drapier's Letters. [T. S.]

[2] Robert Echlin who represented Monaghan borough from 1695 till 1699. He was made lieutenant-general in 1707. [T. S.]

[3] Richard Gorges (died 1728) was quartermaster-general for Ireland in 1700. He represented successively Bandon Bridge and Ratoath in the Irish Parliament, and married, as his second wife, the widow of the fourth Earl of Meath. [T. S.]

[4] Heyman Rooke (1653-172$\frac{4}{5}$) was made major-general in 1710. [T. S.]

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time in February after, because his regiment also was out of the kingdom till that time; and that therefore he being the eldest general officer that had no pay as such, was entituled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was not qualified to receive it, till Gorges was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His Excellency upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him if the money were not paid to Gorges he should have it; so bid him go see, which he did, and found it was; then his Excellency told him, he would refer his case to the court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour, and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers sat he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rooke.

When the prosecution against the dissenting minister at Drogheda was depending, one Stevens a lawyer in this town (Dublin), sent his Excellency, then in London, a petition in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others, who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time his Excellency sent over a letter to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor-general orders, to enter *nolle prosequi's* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, though he never so much as inquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said he had Her Majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand, and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his Excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance. There was 850*l.* ordered by Her Majesty to buy liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c.; but with great industry he got them made cheaper by 200*l.* which he saved out of that sum; and 'tis reported that his steward got a handsome consideration out of the undertaker besides.

The agent to his regiment being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty, which service pleased his Excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

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The lord-lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a solicitor-general without a Queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet because Sir Richard Levinge[1] disobliged him by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. Forster,[2] though he had no Queen's letter for so doing; only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle that Her Majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland have a great share of the administration; all things being carried by the consent of a majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations made there, as well as the chief governor; but his Excellency disliked so much share of power in any beside himself; and when matters were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them and say, "Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes;" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his Excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his Excellency and his cabal. His Excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the bishops with the following recommendation: "My lord, Mr. —— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous that a bishop in England refused to admit him to a living that he was presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His Excellency recommended the Earl of Inchiquin[3] to

[1] The Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Levinge, or Levintz (1656?-1724), was Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1690-1695 and 1704-1709, Attorney-General in 1711-1714, and Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1720-1724. Previous to holding office in Ireland he had been Recorder of Chester, which city he also represented in the English House of Commons in 1690-1692. He afterwards sat in the Irish House of Commons for several boroughs, and, for a time (1692), was also its Speaker. [T. S.]

[2] Recorder of the city of Dublin (1710), and afterwards (in 1714) Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. His name is also spelt "Foster." [T. S.]

[3] William O'Brien succeeded his father as third Earl of Inchiquin in

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be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified, when he found Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby appointed, without any regard to his recommendations; particularly, because the usual salary to a lord justice in the lord-lieutenant's absence is 100*l.* *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl to be content with 40*l.*

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his Excellency's usage of the convocation; of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coningsby;[1] an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a mayor in Trim;[2] his selling the place of a privy-councillor and commissioner of the revenue to Mr. Conolly;[3] his barbarous injustice to Dean Jephson, and poor Will. Crow;[4] his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady 20 guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie carrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. Fl——d, and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach; and his Excellency making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages, which I hope you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

1692. He was successively Governor of Kinsale and Clare. He was born about the year 1662, and died at Rostellon Castle, Cork, in 1719. [T. S.]

[1] To this intrigue may probably belong the charge in the "Examiner," No. XVII., that, "on a day set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws, both human and divine." [S.]

[2] The disputes about the Trim elections are often mentioned in the Journal to Stella. [S.]

[3] Afterwards Speaker. "Conolly is out, and Mr. Roberts in his place.—That employment cost Conolly three thousand pounds to Lord Wharton, so he has made one ill bargain in his life."—*Journal*, 28th September, 1710. [S.]

[4] Michael Jephson was of Trinity College, where he graduated M.A. in 1679. He was Dean of St. Patrick's in 1691, and died in 1694. One of his daughters married the youngest son of the third Earl of Inchiquin. Dr. William Crowe represented Dublin University in the Irish Parliament. At the time Swift wrote he was M.P. for Blessington, a town of which he had, a few years before, been the recorder. [T. S.]

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Note, Mr. Savage, beside the persecution about his fees before-mentioned, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his Excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his Excellency.

The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a Second Part.

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SOME

REMARKS

UPON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED,

A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE, APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREGG.

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NOTE.

WILLIAM GREGG was a clerk in Harley's office when the latter was Secretary of State. Harley also employed him to spy for him in Scotland and other places. In this way he became possessed of information the importance of which tempted him, for the sake of gain, to open treasonable communication with M. de Chamillart, the French Secretary of State, and betray to him the secrets of the British Government. According to Lord Mahon, "he was wont to slip his letters into the packets which Marshal Tallard, as a prisoner in England, used to send unsealed to the Secretary's office, to be there examined and then forwarded. One of these packets, being on some suspicion opened in Holland, was found to contain the copy of a draft, which Gregg transmitted, of a letter which it was designed the Queen should write in her own hand to the Emperor, requesting him, according to the wish expressed in Parliament, to appoint Prince Eugene to Spain." Gregg was immediately placed in prison, and a Committee of seven Lords appointed for his examination. The committee consisted of the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townsend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. There is little doubt that this committee was chosen with a view to implicate Harley in the matter, and its subsequent proceedings go to justify this. Gregg was examined over and over again, and even after he had been tried and condemned (19th January, 1708-9), he was respited for further examination. Gregg, however, stuck to his declaration that he was alone in his work, and that he had acted as he had from purely mercenary motives. Even in his dying speech he made the same declaration. But the committee kept on, and thus overshot their mark. Their persistence roused public indignation against them, and people forgot the justification of their existence in the seeming cruelty of their behaviour. Later, when Harley as Treasurer was wounded by Guiscard, Swift, in the "Examiner," referred to this Gregg incident to show the treacherous means employed by Harley's enemies, and cited the case as a parallel to the Guiscard incident. To the two "Examiners" (Nos. XXXII. and XXXIII.) the "Medley" replied in its No. XXVI. From the pages of the journals the controversy was carried into pamphlet form, and a Francis Hoffman, in his "Secret Transactions during the hundred days Mr. William Gregg lay in Newgate under sentence of death for high treason," pretty plainly stated the charge against the seven lords. He printed also a copy of Gregg's dying statement, "and a letter from the Rev. Mr. Paul Lorraine, the ordinary of Newgate, stating the solicitations which had been used with Gregg while in prison, and his uniform and solemn exculpation of Harley."

The reply to this pamphlet was "A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg," in which it was attempted to clear the lords of the charges brought against them both by Swift and Hoffman. Swift now entered into the controversy with the present "Remarks." In his letter to Stella, under date August 24th, 1711, he writes: "There is a pamphlet come out in answer to a Letter to the Seven Lords who examined Gregg. The answer is by the real author of the 'Examiner,' as I believe, for it is very well written."

The present reprint of Swift's pamphlet is based on the original edition, published by John Morphew, and compared with the reprint in the Somers's "Collection of Tracts" (vol. iii.).

[T. S.]

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SOME

REMARKS

UPON A

Pamphlet,

ENTITL'D,

[*A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, appointed to Examine* GREGG.]

By the Author of the EXAMINER.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1711. (Price 3 *d*.)

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SOME REMARKS UPON A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREGG.

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers, or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent; and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising, which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those common-place terms of "infamous scribbler," "prostitute libeller," and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because they are such as the meanest writer whenever he pleases, may use, towards the best.[1] I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a

[1] In the "Letter" the writer of the "Examiner" was styled "an abandoned wretch, the scum of mankind." [T. S.]

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great deal of deformity carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance; and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: For there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the "Letter to the Seven Lords," takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous and impudent in people at mercy to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece hath been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect; yet I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair. But I suppose they are confident, it is what I am not master of; wherein 'tis odds but they may be mistaken; for I believe, the memorials of that transaction are better preserved than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The "Medley"[1] has been often in the same story: If they condemn

[1] A Whig newspaper established in opposition to the "Examiner." It was edited by Mainwaring and Oldmixon. "Not the *Meddle*," writes

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it as a crime in general, I shall not much object, at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution; but by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on t'other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, That "this way of personal reflection ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; 'twas against charity and good manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility, was "doing good service to the cause, and detecting of evil principles." Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from heaven upon us; though by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it against persons in highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the "Observator" and "Review"[1] for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions? In declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves Tories, to be worse than papists and nonjurors? In exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state? In defending the Rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I. which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the Queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated by name in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness hath the writer of the "Medley" attacked every person of the present ministry, the Speaker of the House of

Swift banteringly to Stella, "but the *Medley*, you fool. Yes, yes, a wretched thing, because it is against you Tories: now I think it very fine, and the 'Examiner' a wretched thing." In 1712 the "Medley" was amalgamated with the "Flying Post," and managed by "a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath." [T. S.]

[1] The "Observator" and "Review" were edited respectively by John Tutchin and Daniel Defoe. See note on p. 8, vol. iv., of present edition. [T. S.]

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Commons, and the whole senate? He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter to pay the debts and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections? Who so confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the "Medley" and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm; and am I to be torn in pieces because I censure others, who for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches.

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider: It is a Letter written to seven great men,[1] who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the "Examiner"[2] hath charged them for "endeavouring by bribery and subornation of that criminal to take away Mr. Harley's[3] life." If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable: The weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as the "Examiner" should presume, by certain innuendoes, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business in those papers was to represent facts, and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons; but the mischief is, that the readers have

[1] These were the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. [T. S.]

[2] A weekly Tory paper which first appeared on August 3rd, 1710. Swift managed it from No. 14 (November 2nd, 1710) to the forty-fifth issue (June 7th, 1711). For a full account of the "Examiner" see note prefixed to the volume containing Swift's contributions to that periodical. [T. S.]

[3] Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), the last of our Lord High Treasurers. He was a great friend of Swift. [T. S.]

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always found names to tally with those facts; and I know no remedy for this. As for instance in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of 50*l.* a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape, by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. 'Tis found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow; the secretary at that time was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures. It was very well known, that a secretary of state hath little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under secretaries, who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth: However, it would pass well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr. Secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: He owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune: So that if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? Can all faith, and honour, and justice be thus violated by men? Questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher; but what if it were *regnandi causa?* (and that perhaps in a literal sense) Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is: But what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? Who gave rise to this report against Mr. Harley? Will any of his enemies confess in cold blood that they did either believe, suspect or imagine, the secretary, and one of the under clerks, to be joined in corresponding with France? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices

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at all: It was, to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears by his letters that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the Queen's letter to the emperor, which he sent to the enemy, and hath made such a noise, was only to desire, that Prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain, which for six weeks before had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe.[1] It was evident from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet, two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who to supply his vices and his wants was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations published, which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he pressed so close to cry out with horror, "Good God, would you have me accuse Mr. Harley when he is wholly innocent?" Why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him, immediately burned? I cannot in my conscience but think, that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be never the less ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it; but though the word was publicly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life, and thereby leave it in his power at any time to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very

[1] The letter was drawn by Erasmus Lewis, Swift's friend, and corrected by Harley, who was then secretary.

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good company; the two Houses of Parliament in general, and the Speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both Houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word "faction." But the Speaker, is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of "some unparalleled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the Parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can, and then pretends to yield, as "pressed by so great an authority," and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the Speaker, this writer says, "he is but a single man," and because his speech was in words too direct to avoid,[1] he advises him to "save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech," and to "write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously." What an expedient this advocate hath found to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, "The crime is horrible; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged:" We reply, that the Parliament and Speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion: He rejoins, that "he is pressed by too great an authority;" that perhaps those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman, (who besides "is but a single man") may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a solecism, or be malicious, and in good manners he rather thinks it may be the former.

The writer of the Letter having thus dispatched the "Examiner," falls next upon a paper called "Secret Transactions," &c. written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman,[2] and the ordinary of Newgate, persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be) nor have yet seen their productions; but by what is cited from them in the Letter, it should seem, they have made some

[1] This word is improperly used here, both in point of sense and grammar. It should be—too direct *to be evaded.* [S.]

[2] An obscure person of whom some information is given in "Noble's Continuation of Grainger" (vol. ii., p. 365). [T. S.]

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untoward observations; however, the same answer still serves, not a word to control what they say, only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to "reflect upon the greatest and best men in England;" and there's an end. I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However I shall not enter into a point of controversy whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard: 'Tis now confessed on all hands, that Mr. Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under clerk in corresponding with France: The suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had; they found the report most industriously spread, the Whigs in common discourse discovering their wishes, that he might be found guilty; the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such, as it is supposed would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected: The criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted "to save his life by falsely accusing his master," with more to the same purpose: From all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering; now I say, 'tis a little hard that Mr. Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions, as well as his enemies: And this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villany to suspect Mr. Harley, and then proceed in due method to defend his committee of examiners: But that gentleman being, as this author says of the Speaker, "but a single man;" I suppose, his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. Harley, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know, I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations.

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His parallel case is this; "Supposing Guiscard[1] had been intimate with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with that minister;" then he asks, "Whether it would have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what secrets he had imported to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding?" &c. In this parallel, Guiscard's case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great officer with Mr. Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that "Gregg was intimate with" Mr. Harley, and "suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him." Now did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr. Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having "most secret affairs communicated to him" from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? Why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterwards made of it? Or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this Letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his Letter, that I "make the world believe I am set on work by great people." I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct

[1] For an account of Guiscard and his attempt to assassinate Harley, see Swift's "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry." See also Mrs. Manley's "True Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," 1711, reprinted by Scott in his edition of Swift's works, vol. v., 1824 (pp. 335-358). In his letter to Stella, under date April 16th, 1711, Swift writes: "I forgot to tell you that yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr. Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself, so I sent my hints to the author of the 'Atalantis,' and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style, only the first page is left as I was beginning it." [T. S.]

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contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all those papers that can any way favour this calumny: The malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry, to make the world believe, that what I have published, is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last: Whereas it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends are treated as "subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state." This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: And therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been "subverters of the constitution": But that some people did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard "by a blunder of a design against Mr. Harley's life." I declare he injures me, for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered in the business of Gregg; and both (to avoid all cavilling) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. Harley, a "sore blow," but I suppose he means his recovery: That indeed was a sore blow to the interests of his party: But I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I "should know their lordships' hearts, because he hardly knows his own." I do not well see the consequence of this: Perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strowed throughout his letter; otherwise I fear I "know it too well": For "out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh." But however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause,

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whether it be a just one or no, and has never shewn the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration. "'Tis very well (saith he) that people's heads are to stand on their shoulders, as long as the laws will let them; if it depended upon any thing besides, it may be your lordships' seven heads might be as soon cut off, as that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation style, and in Italic letter, "May the head that has done the greatest mischief, fall first, let it be whose it will." The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would, if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: But I know not any ministry upon earth, that I durst confide in without law; and if at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for "the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom," I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, "let it be whose it will," perplexes me not a little: I wish in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my Lord Mayor: Otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, "whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief"; which way can we tell how far their predecessors' principles may have influenced them? God preserve the Queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads.

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman, are singular enough. The ordinary's words are, that "so many endeavours were used to corrupt Gregg's conscience, &c. that he felt as much uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his master, as if it had been his own case." The author of the Letter says to this, that "for aught the ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master; and that

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therefore, an indifferent person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his master, that would touch his life, and yet might have been true." But if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr. Harley's character and station should make use of such a confederate in treason: If he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding; and knowing how much Mr. Harley was feared and hated by men in power, and observing that "resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note"; all this put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr. Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.[1]

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author "challenges all the books in the new lord's library[2] (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like it." What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond con-

[1] "It is but justice," notes Scott, "to the ordinary to state, that before he entertained this anxiety, lest Gregg should accuse Harley, he had satisfied himself of the latter's innocence. 'I often,' says he, 'pressed him to discover who (if any) were concerned with him, in that treasonable fact. And pressed him also, (in an especial manner, upon his eternal salvation, and as he should answer it at the great tribunal of God) freely to tell me, whether Mr. Harley, did know any thing of it, or was any ways concerned, or to be concerned in it. To which he answered me, with the greatest and solemnest asseveration and protestation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his knees, and calling the great God to witness) That that honourable gentleman, Mr. Robert Harley, knew nothing of it, neither was to know, or to be concerned in it. Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I *then* grew jealous of those people that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were so far from offering him any thing to quiet his conscience, that on the contrary they gave a great disturbance to it.'"—*The Ordinary's Letter to Francis Hoffman in "Secret Transactions."*

[2] The library of Harley, who had just been created Earl of Oxford. [T. S.]

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troversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg: This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: Let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay 'tis plain, by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: And is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg, talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable councillors with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c. to accuse the innocent, and betray his friends." Does it any where appear that those noble persons who examined Guiscard, put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? Did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then "drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him"? Did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse. Yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard, than ever Mr. Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr. Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? Who were those that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? And who were those that refined so far as to make Mr. Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: For so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this set of men must take the same courses in their ministration with their predecessors, or ten times worse; that the new servants go on in the old methods, and give

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the same counsel and advice, on the like occasions, with the old ones;" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means, that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the Duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before; and that because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they "give the same advice, and pursue the same measures." What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided-for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South Sea trade? What does he think of Mr. Hill's expedition to preserve our trade in the West Indies?[1] What, of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expenses of the Spanish war? What, of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly enquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils so deeply radicated, must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want or possession of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristic which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present, That the former sacrificing all regards to the increase of their wealth and power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the interest, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first opportunities for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, That "the Queen was brought to discard her old officers through the multitude of complaints, secret teasings, and importunate clamours of a rout of people, led by their

[1] See note on p. 80. [T. S.]

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priests, and spirited underhand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the Queen's ear, or came in disguise to "desire a word with Her Majesty," like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, are called, by this son of obscurity, "a rout of people," and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party malice against the clergy hath been so blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer hath received "direction from his superiors," to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First he says, That "rout of secret teasers" (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) were "led by the priests." Then he assures us, that the Queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider, "Who it was that cheated those poor priests." And in case Her Majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, That "the priests are seldom wanting to become the tools of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that "these poor priests" have been cheated? Are they cheated by a fund established for building 50 churches? Or by the Queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? What one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, That when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry, "the priests will not be wanting to become the tools of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning which hath never yet been produced. The cunningest

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managers I ever knew among them, are of all others most detested by the clergy: Neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them bishops; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical; I desire once for all to set them right. A tool and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus: the former, is an engine in the hands of knaves, the latter in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands of princes, and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience, will immediately confute. Schismatic and fanatic preachers, have indeed been perpetually employed that way with good success; by the faction against King Charles I. to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by King James II. to bring in Popery; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned and deprived; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last, he owns, that the Queen is "now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before." And indeed if this be not true, Her Majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be "rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to Her Majesty's most just and reasonable commands," which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons towards their prince can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a

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hundred particulars might be produced. So that according to our author's way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceedingly kind, I reward him infinitely above his merit. Besides which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me that my present domestics were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry. First, at "the licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation." Secondly, that "these hedge-writers" (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) "seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places." On the first, he brings but one instance, but I could produce a good many hundred; what does he think of the "Observator," the "Review," and the "Medley"? In his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the "scum of mankind," as the "Examiner"? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense among the libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who under the appellations of Tory, Jacobite, Highflier, and other cant words, was not represented as a public enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay have they not even disturbed the

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ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our "flattering my lord-treasurer, and other great persons in power." To which I shall only say; for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyrics on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed I am apt to think that the men of wit at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of use to those, who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met encouragement and reward. But those great patriots, now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the Queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and therefore can expect no payment; so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least 90 *per cent.* since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot" (says he) "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains? Cannot the Queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? Do noble men fall from all honour, virtue and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something in the first place, to this last question, which I answer in the negative. However he will own, that "men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue and religion"; though I must confess my belief at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to *fall from* any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the Whig pamphleteers, has been this twelvemonth past, to tell us how dangerous a step

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it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then, this author tells us, that those discarded politicians "were the greatest ministers we ever had": His brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On t'other side, the Queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them: The universal voice of the people was against them: Her Majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned: We have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful, diligent and dutiful administration; of "that astonishing success," he says, "Providence hath crowned us with," what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the Letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world; when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced by facts not to be controlled, how miserably this poor kingdom has been deluded to the very brink of destruction.[1]

He would have it, that the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without understanding: But that all this will go off by degrees, and then his "great men will recover their esteem and credit." I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished and least believed it: I there shewed the difference between "a short madness of the people," and their "natural bent or genius." I remember when King James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; hoping, among other things, that "God would open the eyes of the nation." Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of Popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor I hope will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the

[1] This refers to the pamphlet published towards the end of the year 1711, entitled, "The Conduct of the Allies." [T. S.]

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two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? Is my understanding lost when it differs from theirs? Am I cheated, bewitched and out of my senses, because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents "will never want their places;" but is in pain for the poor kingdom, lest "their places should want them." Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still, and are likely to continue in them.[1] Two more were governors of islands;[2] I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a soldier;[3] I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then, it would be a little hard, if the Queen should be at a loss for a steward to her family.[4] So that upon the whole, I see but one great employment[5] which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: Yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council, does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries will do their duties; and 'tis happy for the nation that none of their seven lordships left any of *those places* to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with an "appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, friends and enemies" by name, "to give their judgment, whether they think the late ministry were wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence to serve their prince and country." Now, if he speaks

[1] The Duke of Somerset, grand master of the horse, and Lord Halifax, auditor of the Exchequer. [T. S.]

[2] The Earl of Wharton, removed from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, in 1710 and the Duke of Bolton, appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1708. [T. S.]

[3] Viscount Townshend was captain of Her Majesty's Guard of Yeomen. [T. S.]

[4] The Earl of Devonshire had been removed from that office. [T. S.]

[5] That of Lord President of the Council, a post which Lord Somers had occupied. [T. S.]

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by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction, and Her Majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the mean time, I will not accept his appeal; which has been rejected by the Queen and both Houses of Parliament. But let a fair jury be empanelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the King of France and all his counsellors, with the Pretender and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against: I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able and diligent in serving *their prince* and country. The counsels of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the Pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion, as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except against the emperor and the States; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they be not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appealers' sakes, to have their case referred to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their insolence to their sovereign. But above all, the King of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers, with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those, whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the Grand Seignior and the Czar in the list of his judges; the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary, and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bowstring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter him from submitting to their jurisdiction.

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THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.

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NOTE.

PERHAPS no one rendered the Oxford Ministry greater service than did Swift by the writing of this pamphlet. Marlborough, by his astonishing military campaigns, had become an idol with the populace; but the Tory administration, firmly fixed as they were in Ireland and Scotland, felt it absolutely necessary for their safe continuance in office to bring about a peace. How to arouse the people to a sense of the value of peace was the important question. Peace at any price, with the probable withdrawal and dismissal of Marlborough, was a step which none of its members had the courage to propose, and to keep Marlborough in the field might mean more victories and consequently greater popularity for one who was so closely identified with Whig interests. The only course to pursue, evidently, was to attempt a pamphleteering campaign which should make the war unpopular. There is no doubt that Bolingbroke had much to do with planning this campaign; and he it was who, while staying at Windsor, primed Swift, on the latter's visit to his house, with the facts necessary to drive home the essential argument of the thesis on which Swift was either desired, or which he voluntarily undertook, publicly to enunciate. Macknight in his "Life of Bolingbroke" (pp. 216-217) points out that "St. John and Swift during these Windsor visits were seen walking together for hours up the long avenue, and discoursing deeply on high affairs of State. Sometimes, too, after midnight, when the company was gone, they would sit talking on the same subject by the fire, far into the next morning." The result of all this was, "The Conduct of the Allies," and its effect was such as may best be conveyed in the words of Dr. Johnson: "The people who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the general and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage when they found that 'mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed' to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies." It may be truly said, as Johnson concludes by saying, that "whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet with cool perusal, will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of its readers." But Swift's aim was just this. It was his business as it was his intention to strike the blow once, and to strike hard. He did it, and his work saved the ministry from its downfall.

Early in November of 1711 Marlborough was actually in London, and on the 27th of the same month the tract appeared. Parliament met on the 6th of December, and opened by an attack from Nottingham. In spite of the fact that Nottingham's motion, which was really intended to destroy the chances for a peace, was carried by a majority of five votes, and in spite of the fact that the terrible suspense lasted

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for three weeks, Swift's pen had done its work. Harley noted the unmistakable signs of Marlborough's decline in the popular esteem—a decline which was accelerated by the proof that he and his Secretary Cardonnel had received questionable perquisites. Noting these signs Harley hesitated no longer. The 30th of December found Marlborough deprived of his appointments, and the following day a majority was secured in the House of Lords by the creation of twelve new peers.

"The Conduct of the Allies" was first published on November 27th, 1711; a second edition was issued on the 29th; a third on December 3rd, and a fourth and fifth succeeded before the year was out. Eleven thousand copies, says Dr. Johnson, were sold between November and January; "a great number," he adds, "at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers."

In the "Journal to Stella" we trace the progress of the pamphlet:

October 30th, 1711. "I was to-day in the city concerting some things with a printer, and am to be to-morrow all day busy with Mr. Secretary about the same. I won't tell you now; but the ministers reckon it will do abundance of good, and open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a peace. Few of this generation can remember anything but war and taxes, and they think it as it should be; whereas it is certain we are the most undone people in Europe, as I am afraid I shall make appear beyond all contradiction. But I forgot; I won't tell you what I will do, nor what I will not do: so let me alone," etc.

November 24th, 1711. "I have finished my pamphlet to-day, which has cost me so much time and trouble; it will be published in three or four days, when the Parliament begins sitting."

November 30th, 1711. "The pamphlet makes a world of noise, and will do a great deal of good."

February 4th, 1712. "The House of Commons have this day made many severe votes about our being abused by our allies; those who spoke drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I writ: the Court had a majority of one hundred and fifty: all argue, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions."

The text of this reprint is practically that of the first edition; but it has also been collated with the following editions issued in 1711. The title-page given here in facsimile bears 1712 as the date of the first issue. This, of course, was printed when it was not expected to sell so quickly, and as is usual with publishers the year was ante-dated because of the near approach of the new year. The succeeding four editions are all dated 1711.

Several replies were quickly issued to Swift's tract, and among these the most noted was that by Dr. Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough. It was entitled: "The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France." It will be referred to later in this volume.

[T. S.]

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THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, AND OF THE Late Ministry, IN Beginning and Carrying on THE Present War.

——— Partem tibi Gallia noſtri
Eripuit: partem duris Hiſpania bellis:
Pars jacet Heſperia: totoq; exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit———

Odimus accipitrem quia ſemper vivit in armis.
———Victrix Provincia plorat.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1712.

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THE PREFACE.

I CANNOT sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise, at this juncture, so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their ballads. I lay it down for a maxim, That no reasonable man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war, upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry,[1] *in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburg,*[2] *have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the con-*

[1] The Godolphin Administration, termed by Mahon "the great Whig administration of Queen Anne," fell in November, 1710. [T. S.]

[2] See notes on pp. 106, 201-2. [T. S.]

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federates,[1] *and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, That a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a* mock treaty; *in which those who negotiated, took care to make such demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.*

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this time, for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material, as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years war with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

[1] The members of the Grand Alliance. [T. S.]

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THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, &c.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in a war, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow); to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases, the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focis*; where no expense or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently, our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable speculation.

And, as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in when he enters on it: Whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich by a long peace and free trade, not overpressed with many burthensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be

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his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered, is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace: Which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, though with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which in the variety of interests, among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: For though each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. For example: Two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince whose cause you espouse, though never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: 'Tis therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but, as they must in course be the first and greatest sufferers, so, in justice, they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible that those at next door may escape, by a shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But, if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in

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the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy: or, if his romantic disposition transports him so far, as to expect little or nothing of this, he might, however, hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars, wherein England hath been engaged since the Conquest. In the civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry, new families raised, and old ones extinguished, but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against King Charles I., the usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland, but managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the first being upon our own continent,[1] carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France, we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Queen Mary; and though some of our latter princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy, and two or three fifteenths, cleared all the debt. Beside, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars, in the reign of King Charles II. though

[1] Thus in first edition. Other editions have "in this island." [T. S.]

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begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the Revolution, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in an alliance against France, to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest: It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years, by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient, was the security of a new prince, not firmly settled on the throne: People were tempted to lend, by great premiums and large interest, and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they trusted with their money. The person[1] said to have been author of so detestable a project, is still living, and lives to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: For, a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the Revolution, but valued themselves by their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: These, finding that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a monied interest, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.[2]

The ground of the first war, for ten years after the Revolution, as to the part we had in it, was, to make France acknowledge the late king, and to recover Hudson's Bay.

[1] Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. See note on p. 128, vol. iii., of present edition of Swift's works. [T. S.]

[2] The apology alleged by the answerers of the tract was the stubborn opposition of the Tories to an excise or any other schemes for raising taxes within the year. [S.]

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But during that whole war, the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the king was a general, but not an admiral; and although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose; after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of a peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us;[1] and clogged soon after by the famous treaty of partition;[2] by which, Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several parties at the very time of transacting it; then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for, the late King of Spain reckoning it an indignity to have his

[1] The Peace of Ryswick, concluded in October, 1697. All that Louis did for England by that peace was to acknowledge William as King of England, and to engage not to assist his enemies. The Dutch and Leopold, however, were much better treated. The former had its commerce re-established, while to the latter were given many fortresses and towns, and advantages strengthening his empire. The Peace of Ryswick was truly not a peace, but a temporary cessation of hostilities. [T. S.]

[2] The Partition Treaties arose out of the troublesome question of the Spanish succession. After the Peace of Ryswick William III. and Louis XIV. attempted to settle this question by a partition of the Spanish possessions, which, without any reference either to Charles of Spain or Leopold of Austria, gave Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the two Sicilies to France. Charles himself signed a will by which the Electoral Prince was to succeed him in all his possessions; but the prince died. His death necessitated a second Partition Treaty, and this was concluded between France, England, and Holland. By this second treaty the Archduke Charles succeeded to Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, and the Bourbons received the Milanese or Lorraine. The news of this treaty in Spain roused that country to activity, and Louis XIV., by means of Cardinal Porto Carrero and Harcourt, his ambassador, intrigued so that the anger of the Spaniards fell on England and Holland, and eventually succeeded in forcing Charles to sign a will in favour of Philip of Anjou. This perfidious conduct on the part of Louis led to the Grand Alliance and a war which, in the words of Macaulay, "agitated Europe, from the Vistula to the Atlantic Ocean, during twelve years." [T. S.]

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territories cantoned out into parcels, by other princes, during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France: And this prince was acknowledged for King of Spain both by us and Holland.[1]

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the church-party, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly, 'tis affirmed that a certain great person,[2] who was then in the church interest, told the king in November, 1701, That since His Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; though he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the Treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home; while those abroad were to be in the hands of one, whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States, they say very truly, That "they are nearest, and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urgent and pressing necessity;" with other expressions to the same purpose. They "desire the assistance of all kings and princes," &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, "the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants settled in France, with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the Partition Treaty, by the French accepting the King of Spain's will, and threatening the States, if they would not comply; the seizing the Spanish

[1] This was Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. [T. S.]

[2] Sidney Godolphin, one of the greatest financiers among English statesmen. He was Lord High Treasurer under Queen Anne, and an intimate friend, as well as relative by marriage, of Marlborough. He was created an Earl in 1706, but was removed from his office at the fall of the Whig ministry in 1710. He died in 1712. [T. S.]

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Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who by permission of the late King of Spain were in garrison there; by which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary to the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke." They alleged, that "the French king governed Flanders as his own, though under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them: That he had seized the city and citadel of Liège, had possessed himself of several places in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained troops in the country of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial."

The Queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand alliance, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French king; whereof the instances produced are, "his keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. And instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on Her Majesty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, K. of England, &c." which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge Her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war, than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. Holland was first in the danger, the French troops being at that time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration, do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and by a successful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of country,

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and a better frontier against France. The emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expense of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the sea, and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: The main charge of the war on that side, was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated that his highness should have the Duchy of Montferrat, belonging to the Duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with the Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it, an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; beside whatever else could be taken from France on that side by the confederate forces. Then, he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their contingent to the emperor, alleging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the partition treaty, the question here in England was, Whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun. Those who were for the former, alleged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion for that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of insolence, as well as injustice, in the French to offer putting a king upon us; and the Spaniards would conceive, we had as little reason to force one upon them; that it was true,

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the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Austrian; but, that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the D. of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean an union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards must of necessity call in French troops to their assistance: This would introduce French counsellors into King Philip's court; and this, by degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two nations: That to assist King Charles by English or Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great an abomination, as those whom they hold for heretics: That the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies: That, in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and His Majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success: How then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy, and so make us, upon the balance, weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alleged how dangerous it would be for England, that Philip should be King of Spain; that we could have no security for our trade, while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family; nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would, in effect, be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed; and so, without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war which hath cost us sixty millions; and after repeated, as well as

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unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where I presume it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points.

First, That against all manner of prudence, or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning of it; and made no efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon the first of these points, That we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries. Let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in; sinking under heavy debts, of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, though it brought no other advantage but itself: no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts, as to raise armies: a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who for ten years before had been plundering the public: many corruptions in every branch of our government, that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wisest management, could hardly recover us, we declare war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which in the former war, had been

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parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious what a change must be made in the balance, by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest by ten years experience, that France without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in that case, nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the Queen's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel; but the French king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: And this, although indeed a great affront, might have easily been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus[1] by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.[2]

'Tis true indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence, and French politics, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves: For by an old treaty with Holland, we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the

[1] Augustus II. (1670-1733), King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. He was deposed by means of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Stanislaus crowned in his place. He was, however, restored on Stanislaus's defeat at Pultowa. [T. S.]

[2] Stanislaus Leczinski (1677-1766) found favour in Charles XII. of Sweden's eyes, and by his aid was crowned King of Poland in 1705 in place of the deposed Augustus II. On his defeat at Pultowa he was obliged to fly the kingdom, and although he had the assistance of Louis XV. of France in his claim for the Polish throne after Augustus's death in 1733, he did not succeed in re-obtaining it. He was author of "Œuvres du Philosophe Bienfaisant." [T. S.]

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French; whose troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders, in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that assistance alone, to defend their frontiers: Or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other which this war hath created; and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war, must be undertaken, upon the advice of those, who with their partisans and adherents, were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance[1] was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole strength.*

Thus we became principal in a war, in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was, beyond all proportion, greater than ours. However, I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expenses we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the "whole strength of the nation," as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects; if he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest; and by this method one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

[1] See note on p. 105. [T. S.]

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Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: These, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as, with prudent management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable quota in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our case) because the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who after ten years suffering, by the unexampled politics of a nation, maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy load of debts they had contracted; universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition: That these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war, for the same, or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expenses, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burthen as the whole twenty. This computation, so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention, posterity will think that those who first advised the war, had either not the sense or the honesty to consider.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those for which we undertook

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the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expense of the war, where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquests; utterly neglecting that part which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting the successes we have had; and yet at the same time determine, that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period, without involving us and our posterity in unextricable debts? If after such miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, though we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think a town taken for the Dutch, is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money? which is of so little consequence to the determining the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price.

I say not this, by any means, to detract from the army or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: But when all this brings no real solid advantage to us, when it hath no other end than to

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enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increase the fame and wealth of our general,[1] I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder: We are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting all our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly, but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our valour more sensibly than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, feed many hundred thousand inhabitants, where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons; enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as upon the first appearance there, with a few troops under the archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried, and found the emperor to have deceived either us or himself: Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expense; and by a most corrupt management, the only general, who by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his

[1] The Duke of Marlborough. [T. S.]

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rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent: By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.[1]

In common prudence, we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour, in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least, when we had found or made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy, and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against all the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected? I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of maritime powers, by which our allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and

[1] "The only general" to whom Swift here refers is Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough (1658?-1735). He was the son of John Lord Mordaunt, to whose estates and title he succeeded in 1675. On the death of his uncle in 1697 he became Earl of Peterborough. Previous to this, however, by favour of William of Orange, on that prince's accession to the English throne, he was made Earl of Monmouth and first commissioner of the Treasury. For his successful campaign in Spain in 1705 he received the thanks of Parliament and created a Knight of the Garter. Some of his compositions in verse have been printed, and Lord Mahon refers to a privately printed volume of letters issued in 1834. Peterborough was a very extraordinary man, and his character has been estimated by many writers, most of whom acknowledge his courage, impetuosity of temper, and extreme waywardness of disposition. Macaulay describes him "as a polite, learned, and amorous Charles the Twelfth . . . . the last of the Knights Errant." Lord Mahon, while agreeing with Macaulay's summary, refers to his inconstancy and discontented spirit; Coxe to his aptitude for mischief through irritation from pique and disappointed ambition. Swift had a great liking for him, often stayed at his house at Parson's Green, and refers to him in his "Journal to Stella" again and again. "'Tis the ramblingest lying rogue on earth." Under date January 10th, 1712-1713, he tells Stella how he met Peterborough at Lord Treasurer's, and finishes with, "I love the hang-dog dearly." [T. S.]

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while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others by Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time, by our fleets and naval forces, have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power: This, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we, for ten years, have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima, and other ports, and their receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, beside the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz, for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels, fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts, took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth; to shew us what might have been done with the like management, by a public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, though we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished; in what condition must they have been, if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element, otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very

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truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any design, though against the common enemy, where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies; while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition[1] remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their public complaints, and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as "an insolence in the Queen to attempt such an undertaking;" which, however it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief, and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed, is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them, shall belong to the conqueror, which is the only article that I can call to mind, in all our treaties or stipulations, with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for

[1] Major-General John Hill was the brother of Abigail Hill, the Lady Masham of Queen Anne. Through Marlborough's influence he obtained a commission in the army in 1703. The expedition referred to was the one he commanded in 1711 to attack the French settlements in America. The expedition failed miserably, and returned to England, having accomplished nothing except the loss of the transports and over one thousand soldiers and seamen. He commanded the force in Dunkirk after the Treaty of Utrecht, but he was afterwards deprived of his regiment. [T. S.]

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that very reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land with all our alliances, treatises, stipulations and conventions, and consider, whether the whole does not look as if some particular care and industry had been used, to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain.

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies, hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty prince, whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready, upon every occasion, to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (though they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however so unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances, to shew how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations by which they were bound, and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive, how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and defensive: The first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the emperor, England and Holland are parties with Portugal; in the defensive only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own, whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet here we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late King Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal, by subsequent stipulations; where we agree, that K. Charles shall deliver up Estremadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the

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enemy. They who were guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (beside the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy that he shall be invaded: We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will: And, till we know what the enemy's forces are, His Portuguese Majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his errands, to some of the furthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in a humour to apprehend an invasion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded: But in this, it seems, we were wiser; for that king is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same forces, both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself: And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a maritime power to take upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told, what this assistance

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is which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when England or Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone; in either of these cases, those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor, I suppose, ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine, that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier treaty between Great Britain and Holland, was concluded at the Hague on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty, neither Her Majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: By the former, the States are to assist the Queen in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace till France acknowledges the Queen and the succession of Hanover, and promises to remove the Pretender out of his dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General, that the Protestant succession should be preserved in England; because such a popish prince as we apprehend, would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty of league offensive and defensive, against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people;

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among whom, hardly one in five hundred[1] is in the Pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee; but only to acknowledge it. Otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.[2]

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of Her Majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain: But by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war: and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the King of Spain to maintain their garrisons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders, from Nieuport on the Sea to Namur on the Meuse, and be entirely masters

[1] Later editions have a "thousand." [T. S.]

[2] In the fourth, fifth, and seventh editions of this pamphlet, the text beginning with "how much soever" to the end of the paragraph reads thus: "however our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent and happy settlement now in force." In the first, second, third, and sixth editions the reading is as above. Scott follows the later version. See Postscript on p. 123. [T. S.]

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of the Pays de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise, the Dutch will, in effect, be entire masters of all the Low Countries, may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increases abroad, the clothing people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment, to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them: The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties the Dutch shall lay upon the Scheldt, which is to be closed on the side of the States: Thus all other nations are, in effect, shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that the States shall be "favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured." We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet "they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions." Of all this, the Queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier, and their four hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by

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one of our plenipotentiaries:[1] And I have been told, that the other[2] was heard to say, He would rather lose his right hand, than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he then had at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself: Therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only *said* it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner. The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine: Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In winter, 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a

[1] Lord Townshend. Charles Townshend (1674-1738) was the second viscount of that name. He was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General on May 2nd, 1709. He became a strong and ceaseless opponent of the Harley-Bolingbroke ministry, and with Walpole was afterwards conspicuous in the affairs of State. His ingratiation with the king's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, obtained for him the dignity of the Order of the Garter. It is to Townshend, however, that Bolingbroke owed his pardon and partial restitution. See "Dict. Nat. Biog.," Coxe's "Walpole," and Coxe's "Marlborough." [T. S.]

[2] Duke of Marlborough.

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third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off, by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next and some ensuing campaigns, further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions; though the parliament addressed the Queen that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement, which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps, as they did by keeping up the numbers of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money. So that now things are just inverted, and in all new levies we contribute a third more than the Dutch, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us.[1]

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, towards garrisoning every town as fast as it is taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived by several steps to such a height, that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.[2]

[1] Dr. Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, in his reply to Swift, in the pamphlet entitled, "The Allies and the late Ministry defended," strongly denies this statement. [T. S.]

[2] In the second edition this paragraph concludes with the addition of the following: "And it is well known that the battles of Hochstett and Ramillies were fought with not above fifty thousand men on a side." In the fourth edition this paragraph concludes with the addition of the following: "The troops we maintain in Flanders (as appears by the votes of the House of Commons for the year 1709), are forty thousand the original quota; ten thousand the first augmentation; three thousand Palatines; four thousand six hundred thirty-nine Saxons; Bothmar's regiment of eight hundred men; and a further augmentation taken that year into the service of about two thousand; making in the whole

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The Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemy's lines, and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lille, Tournay, Douay, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Somme to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expense extraordinary of forage for the troops, of building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting that Her Majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them: She agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent, till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it, was, as before is mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue, whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance.

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five-eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three: And by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the

upwards of sixty thousand: And it is well known that the battles of Hochstett and Ramillies were fought with not above fifty thousand men on a side." Thus also in seventh edition. [T. S.]

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Spanish West Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this maritime ally of ours, would have made up in their fleet, what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated to look to their merchants and protect their trade. And we may remember very well when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wishart[1] was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements, in so important a part of the service, he met with such a reception as ill became a republic to give, that lies under so many great obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve, who are content to take.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies, by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame, if Her Majesty be not very exact; nor will even this always content our allies. For in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of money; and his secretary threatened, that if we would not further supply His Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King Charles had not at that time, one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor clothed.

[I shall add one example more, to shew how this prince has treated the Queen, to whom he owes such infinite obligations. Her Majesty borrowed two hundred thousand pounds from the Genoese, and sent it to Barcelona, for the

[1] Sir James Wishart (d. 1729) was one of Rooke's captains. He was one of the lords of the admiralty in 1710. In February, 1711-12, he was sent to Holland as Commissioner; but, on the accession of George I., was summarily dismissed from his command in the Mediterranean for meddling in politics. [T. S.]

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payment of the Spanish army: This money was to be re-coined into the current species of Catalonia, which by the alloy is lower in value 25*l. per cent.* The Queen expected, as she had reason, to have the benefit of this re-coinage, offering to apply it all to the use of the war; but King Charles, instead of consenting to this, made a grant of the coinage to one of his courtiers; which put a stop to the work: And when it was represented, that the army would starve by this delay, His Majesty only replied, "Let them starve!" and would not recall his grant.][1]

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by agreement to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops, the States one hundred thousand, and the emperor only thirty thousand, for recruiting, which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied themselves to him for redress in this particular; and His Highness very frankly promised them, that in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them, and that the emperor should be punctual for the time to come: This was done by that prince, without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian Majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint, which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns, than at the time that war began.

The emperor, as we have already said, was by stipulation to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the success of the war. However, this agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the

[1] This paragraph was introduced into the second edition. [T. S.]

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beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the imperial court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account.[1] They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances, how little the emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the empire itself was secure. 'Tis known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest: But he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning: Yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the emperor's indifference, or rather dislike to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon.[2] This design was indeed discovered here at home, by a person whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain great man, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to enquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people, deep in the secret, to have

[1] This refers to the sums of money Marlborough is supposed to have received for himself, and to the fact that the Emperor Leopold made him a Prince of Mindelheim.

[2] For an account of the failure to capture Toulon, see Coxe's "Marlborough," vol. ii. pp. 140-144 (Bohn edition). [T. S.]

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been concerned in that kind of traffic, as appeared by premiums named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprise that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might have yet succeeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy, as soon as our army arrived; but when the Maréchal de Tessé's [1] troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy, would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diversion; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled. First, It was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court, and his Royal Highness; which had no other foundation, than the emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the Duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this

[1] The Maréchal de Tessé was the commander sent by Louis XIV. to relieve Toulon from the attack by Prince Eugene.

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difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched to Vienna, got over some parts of those disputes, to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated, at the time the emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event, the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself immediately at the head of the army, though the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men, before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth [1] was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was empowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability, and not inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alleging the impossibility of complying with the Queen's demands, upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end: They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which Her Majesty was ready, not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were

[1] Afterwards Lord Whitworth. He was secretary to the English ambassador at Vienna, but became ambassador himself at the Court of St. Petersburg. He died in 1725. His "Account of Russia" was printed by Horace Walpole at the Strawberry Hill private press. [T. S.]

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obliged to; our hopes of taking winter quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method, which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came, as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, That the empire, England and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the King of Portugal, for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese; which number of forty thousand, was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after, the emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two-thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and at the same time two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story: For, although the Dutch did indeed send their own particular quota of four thousand men to Portugal (which however they would not agree to, but upon condition, that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them: For in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British and Dutch forces, having marched with the Earl of Galway[1] into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side; where the Queen hath, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men, and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men (exclusive of Portugal): And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost.

[1] See note on p. 20. [T. S.]

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For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums given to King Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the imperial recruits from time to time: and have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money, for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit, though the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet, during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprise for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsburg, Landau, and a great part of Alsace, for the emperor; and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies' forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the dutchy of Modena. The last emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier treaty, that all those which were not in possession of Spain, upon the death of the late Catholic king, shall be part of the States dominions, and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is, in effect, to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that, in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance, seven Portuguese regiments after the battle of Almanza, went off, with the rest of that broken army, to

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Catalonia; the King of Portugal said, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord Godolphin, for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement, which the king is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present lord-treasurer;[1] who not entering into those refinements, of paying the public money upon private considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, hath put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expense in maintaining them; and this at a time when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers' clothes we carry over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the same proportion as those, for whom we fight, diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here, have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers, which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might discontent the Dutch. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do, but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

[1] Earl of Oxford. [T. S.]

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But if all this be true: If, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason: If, as the other party themselves, upon all occasions, acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect: If, after all our success, we have not made that use of it, which in reason we ought to have done: If we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies, suffered them tamely to break every article even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves: If we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg[1] expressed it) "to engage with France, was to take a bull by the horns;" and left wholly unattempted, that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it: If all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management, we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Surely it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate, since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If in laying open the real causes of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology; Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin;

[1] Frederick Herman, Duke of Schomberg, or Schönberg (1615-1690). He was a fine specimen of the professional soldier, fighting wherever he was wanted, and for such terms as he chose to obtain. He defeated Don John of Austria at Almeixal. Louis XIV. made him a marshal after the death of Turenne, and he fought against William of Orange. Dissatisfied with the state of affairs in France, he offered his services to William, and they were accepted. Both landed at Torbay. He was presented with the Order of the Garter, created Marquis of Harwich and Duke of Schomberg, and received from parliament a gift of £100,000. This sum, however, he afterwards placed at William's disposal for carrying on the war in Ireland against James II. He was killed at the Battle of the Boyne, and buried under the altar in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. It was left to Swift to write a suitable inscription on the tablet he had placed to the memory of a courteous and brave warrior. [T. S.]

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because it is that, for which in all probability they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to the people, to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those, who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late king's time, a certain great man was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the Queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship, the Duke was to command the army, and the Duchess by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's person; by which the whole power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that family.[1] This was a prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an appetite for wealth or ambition. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be com-

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough was of opinion that it was the Queen's confidence in their High Church principles which enabled "that family" to come into power. "I am firmly persuaded," she says in the work entitled, "Account of the Conduct of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough" (1742, p. 125), "that notwithstanding her [the Queen's] extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories. The truth is, though both these lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this by their conduct in the several employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion that the High Church party were the best friends of the Constitution, both of Church and State; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience." [T. S.]

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manded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true spring or motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular family, and in short, a war of the general and the ministry, and not of the prince or people; since those very persons were against it when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people, who are called the monied men; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced, and under those several gross impositions from other princes, if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unanswerable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall waive any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call winter foraging, and said it was better than that of the summer; of two and an half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.[1]

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief advisers. The Whigs were at that time out of all credit or consideration: The reigning favourites had always carried what was called

[1] No reader of Marlborough's life, however prejudiced, can afford to overlook Archdeacon Coxe's defence of his hero against the charges of peculation and bribery. At the time this pamphlet was published, Marlborough was on the eve of being dismissed from all his employments, and a body of commissioners were to report on the charges against him. Indeed, Swift's tract was no small factor in the series of causes which brought about the Duke's disgrace. The "grand perquisites," however, to which Swift here refers, were not denied. [T. S.]

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the Tory principle, at least as high, as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments, were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom several were persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be the sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in possession finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded Whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this "solemn league and covenant," which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the Whigs, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old despotic administration: The Whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time, our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make their best use of it, as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their quotas, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: All which we were forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the Whigs were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the

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money-changers, lest their "tables should be overthrown"; to the designs of the Whigs, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour, by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted towards that great end.

When the vote passed in the House of Lords, against any peace without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton [1] told the House, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however, there were *certain reasons*, why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation; for the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men, with a previous bargain, to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was that of the Prince of Denmark's [2] death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

So when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who as they "waxed the fatter," did but "kick the more"; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country, to those princes, who in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears, that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm a union, that

[1] See note, p. 3. [T. S.]

[2] Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne. [T. S.]

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instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think, how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of Her Majesty in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story: Nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to shew, how Her Majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, "It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house."[1] They would have it, that such

[1] During the Queen's intrigues with Mrs. Masham, prior to the fall of the Godolphin ministry, she lived at a small house in Windsor rather than at the castle itself. Swift makes out that she was compelled to adopt this plan for fear of the attendants the Duchess of Marlborough had placed about her in the castle, who were probably all spies in the duchess's pay. This insinuation gave strong offence to the Whigs, and the writer of the reply to Swift, in his pamphlet, "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," indignantly repudiates it: "The Q——n is at last driven from her castle, and forced to fly to a cottage! Strange news indeed! I have heard there is a little house near the castle, which her M—— bought many years ago of my Lord G——, and is very fond of, as being warmer in it and more retired, than she could be in the castle. Behold now the impudence of these men! A good convenient house is with them a 'cottage,' the place her M—— *loves* to be most in, they say she is forced to *fly* to; and the castle she does not like, they would make us believe, she would never leave, if it were not 'attacked and stormed, and forcibly taken from her.' The house she delighted to see her servants in, when they were most in her favour, and which she had bought even before she was Q——n, you would think she never saw till she fled thither for a safe retreat from them. The sausage-maker in Aristophanes, though he could mix, jumble, and compound with great dexterity; when he would give a specimen of his abilities in impudence and lying, could say nothing that comes up to this. But we have not done yet: The person that 'pursued' the Q——n thus terribly at Windsor, we are to know, by a profane application of Scripture, is my Lady M——, who was so far from 'pursuing'

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continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit: They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits, as a continual chain of oppressions: One injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps, the old masters of the palace in France became masters of the kingdom; and by these steps, a general during pleasure, might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life into a king.[1] So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how Her Majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, though disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little, with those persons who are against any peace, but what they call a good one; and explain themselves, that no peace can be good, without an entire restoration of Spain to the House of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject, will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort, lead them to wish the continuance of the war. I mean the general and our allies abroad; the knot of late favourites at home; the body of such, as traffick in stocks; and lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon clipping our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether Whig or Tory, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till King Charles is quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

her M—— there, that these very people at other times make it her great crime that she neglected the Q——, and hardly ever came near her" (Part IV. Lond. 1712, pp. 53, 54). [T. S.]

[1] This may be a hint of what Swift suggests more plainly in his "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" that Marlborough had designs on the throne of England. [T. S.]

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For, First, It is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain, is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel, by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those, whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And, as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice. I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to control events, which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States' complaint against France and Spain, are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the eighth article of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these, the least mention of demanding Spain for the House of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

The Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance.

When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made, without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords the States-General, of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce, and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland, may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean,

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and in all the places and countries, which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here, we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their deminions, &c. and a sufficient provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same man, as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.[1]

But to know how this new language of "no peace without Spain," was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou: For this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest, as well as affection, engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world, as the new. And whatever the House of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's side.

However, a war was resolved, and in order to carry it on with greater vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the

[1] The Duke of Anjou was the second son of the Dauphin, in favour of whom the Dauphin had waived his pretensions to the Spanish crown. The Emperor of Austria had, in like manner and for the same reason, waived his claim in favour of the Archduke Charles. [T. S.]

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ends proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the armies of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects: Advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design, was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer, and who after the resolutions, which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise were established; and the *dixième denier* raised, by collectors in red coats. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

The House of Austria approved this scheme with reason, since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, and they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might, perhaps, have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that, by a barrier-treaty made with the States, which deserves such epithets as I care not to bestow: But may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a discourse by itself.[1]

By this treaty, the condition of the war, with respect to the Dutch, was widely altered: They fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them safe, must beggar ourselves to render them formidable.

Will any one contend, that if at the treaty of Gertruydenberg,[2] we could have been satisfied with such terms of a

[1] Swift did so consider in the pamphlet following, entitled, "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty." [T. S.]

[2] At Gertruydenberg preliminaries for a peace between the members of the Grand Alliance on the one hand, and Louis XIV. on the other, were discussed. The negotiations failed because of a want of agreement between the Dutch, English, the House of Austria, and the Duke of

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peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? 'Tis plain, they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on, when the war began: And they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them, since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this: Those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenberg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience, in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands, but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability, that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding, what further conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time, France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland, but not by the French, though it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed upon the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed: This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason, because the usual form of a ratification is, with a preamble, shewing, That "whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c." The person [1] who brought over the articles, said in all companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity, we had not demanded more, for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern, and particularly, that we had not

Savoy. Louis promised much, but the partition of the Spanish dominions was resented by both the House of Austria and the Duke of Savoy, while with regard to his promises for assisting in the subjugation of Spain neither the Dutch nor the English representatives had much faith. See Mahon's "History of Queen Anne," vol. i., p. 148, and Coxe's "Marlborough," vol. iii., pp. 32-34. [T. S.]

[1] Horatio Walpole, secretary to that embassy. [T. S.]

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obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret, to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those, who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than what we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the war was the thing at heart, among those in power, both abroad, and at home, and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings; otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace? Did they really think that going on with the war was more eligible for their country, than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and an hundred thousand men's lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French king's turning his own arms to beat his grandson out of Spain?[1] If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance, why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us, was to be left to a general treaty; no tariff agreed on with France or the Low Countries, only the Scheldt was to remain shut, which ruins our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the House of Austria; and we had already made a treaty with King Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope,[2] with that prince, for settling our commerce

[1] This is Swift's summary of the conditions which the Allies wished to impose on Louis by the peace proposals at Gertruydenberg. [T. S.]

[2] James Stanhope, afterwards the first Earl Stanhope (1677-1721), acted as brigadier-general at the siege of Barcelona under Peterborough. In 1708 he was commander-in-chief in Spain. George I. created him Viscount Mahon shortly after his appointment as First Lord of the Treasury. In 1718 he was made Earl. [T. S.]

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with Spain: But whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.

Another point which, I doubt, those have not considered, who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the emperor's death, hath been very much changed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance, have taken a new turn, and I believe, it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of Bourbon; but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle, on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.[1]

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched economy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an emperor, though at the same time King of Spain, to become formidable: On the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expenses of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by further mortgages to a state of

[1] We and Holland, as well as Portugal, were so apprehensive of this, that, by the twenty-fifth article of the offensive alliance, his Portuguese Majesty was not to acknowledge the Archduke for King of Spain, till the two late emperors had made a cession to Charles of the said monarchy. [Note in second edition. T. S.]

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beggary, for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria, and then determine how much an emperor, in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider, that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the House of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and between a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter only King of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa?*

Will the House of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those princes, who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian, as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance, upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance; What can the Duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a vassal, in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore, of the two evils choose the least; by submitting to a master, who has no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in King Charles, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, 'tis known to several persons, that upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved, that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should

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seem, that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse: The first was, Because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject, from general topics and reason, though they might be ignorant of several facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which this war hath reduced us: At the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many, to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people, whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East India, or some other stock: Every new fund to these, is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: No wonder then, if the general cry, in all such meetings, be against any peace, either *with* Spain, or *without;* which, in other words, is no more than this, That discontented men desire another change of ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and, that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rates, while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form: Every body knows, that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest, for what we have already borrowed. The yearly

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charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and an half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more, than all the funds the parliament could contrive would pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expense. This is a demonstration, that if the war lasts another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt tax, or by some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider, what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a fourth part of the purchase of the whole island, if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary charges, towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: However, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government, as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs, both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, who is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expense: As if at the breaking out of this war there had been such a conjunction of affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. 'Tis wonderful, that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it, in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain, about an hundred and twenty years

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ago; which they drew upon themselves, by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since: No doubt, we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear; and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

'Tis easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions? princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those States, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted, than either they or the enemy; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hang up in Westminster Hall, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, and boasting, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: Was not all that credit built upon funds, raised by the landed men, whom they so much hate and despise? Are not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? Must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax, after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt, without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half, I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation, than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed, as if the young extra-

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vagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad, they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: It is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, than when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest, at 6 *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, though the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But, perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side, by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us, some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire: The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business; since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them: And lastly, since we neither desire any recompense, nor expect any thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France, are made to England, upon safe and honourable terms: We who bore the burthen of the war, ought, in reason, to have the greater share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will; and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened

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us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those, who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions, as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to choose. They have no further occasion for fighting; they have gained their point, and they now tell us, it is *our war;* so that in common justice, it ought to be *our peace.*

All we can propose, by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest, for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well, as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients, which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them, than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic, instead of food: Art will help us no longer; and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the House of Austria? Making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event, which, even after a war of miraculous successes, proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity, without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the Island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports, to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places, as would put him in a worse condition,

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whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present King of France has but few years to live,[1] by the course of nature, and, doubtless, would desire to end his days in peace: Grandfathers in private families are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons, and I believe they have much less among princes. However, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, If we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready: We have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private.[2] We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stockjobbers; and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction, by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these *blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that by parity of reason we must expect one just so much worse, about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not; why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their country, and posterity, that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects, was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, 'tis pleasant to hear some men answer all that

[1] Louis XIV. died in 1715. [T. S.]
[2] That is to say, that of Marlborough. [T. S.]

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can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man[1] very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us "take courage," and "warranting, that all would go well." This is the style of men at ease, "who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their fingers." I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities, are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.[2]

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed, as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the battle of Ramillies[3] the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply on any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed, since the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres (and all in specie), have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the defensive, compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge of a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expense, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to France, and of infinite disad-

[1] Lord Halifax. [S.]

[2] See a pamphlet written at that time, entitled, "The Taxes not Grievous, and therefore not a Reason for an unsafe Peace." London, 1712. [T. S.]

[3] Fought on May 12th, 1706. [T. S.]

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vantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch to be not so sunk in his affairs, as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of. [For an absolute government may endure a long war, but it hath generally been ruinous to free countries.][1]

Those who are against any peace without Spain, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence, than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into possession, and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people, to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example, What is it to us that Bouchain is taken,[2] about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years, under the late King, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: Nor was there any thing decisive in their successes: they grew weary, as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been

[1] The sentence in brackets is from the second edition. [T. S.]

[2] See Mrs. Manley's pamphlet, entitled, "A New Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough: In Answer to a Pamphlet, lately published, called Bouchain; or, A Dialogue between The Medley and The Examiner." 1711. This pamphlet is reprinted in Scott's edition of Swift's works, vol. v. (pp. 381-398), second edition, 1824. [T. S.]

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happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise treaty of partition, which revived the flame, that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army, that acts offensively, is at a much greater expense of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day, when it should surrender. The enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some years past avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violent against any peace, without Spain being restored to the House of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot, almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences, and that, whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guaranty of the treaty of Travendal,[1] we were

[1] This treaty was signed 18th August, 1700, and by it peace was restored between Sweden and Denmark. Charles XII. of Sweden had besieged Copenhagen in the early part of the year, 1700, but had consented, on payment of 400,000 rix-dollars, to spare the city. Frederic IV. acknowledged the rights of the Duke of Holstein, and agreed to restore the towns in Holstein he had conquered. By the fifth secret article of the Treaty of Copenhagen (signed 15th June,

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obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting King Augustus. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force, by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the Hague by Sir Joseph Williamson and Monsieur Lilieroot,[1] about the latter end of the late King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded, and our not assisting Sweden, was at least as well excused by the war, which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? What fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which King

1701), it was agreed that "the King of Great Britain and the States will endeavour that the Duke of Holstein may conform himself to the Treaty of Travendal, and maintain a good friendship with Denmark," etc. [T. S.]

[1] Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), graduated at Queen's College, Oxford. In 1665 he was editor of the "Oxford Gazette," which afterwards was known as the "London Gazette." He was secretary to Arlington, and member for Thetford. In 1673 he went to Cologne as joint British Plenipotentiary with Sir Leoline Jenkins and the Earl of Sunderland. In 1674 he was Secretary of State. The reference in the text is to his mission to Holland in 1696, when he was accredited a plenipotentiary at the Congress of Nimeguen; and, with Portland, signed the first partition treaty at Loo on 11th October, 1698. He was at the Hague when the Peace of Ryswick was signed, 20th September, 1697. [T. S.]

Nils Eosander, Comte Lillieroot (1635?-1705) was a Swedish diplomatist. In 1669 he was secretary to the Swedish embassy in France, was ennobled in 1674, and recalled in 1675. From 1677 to 1689 he was at Paris as envoy to the French court, and represented his country, in 1697, at the Peace of Ryswick. He remained at the Hague until his retirement in 1703. [T. S.]

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Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then, both he and the King of Sweden, join in desiring the guaranty of England and Holland.[1] The Queen did, indeed, not give this guaranty in form; but, as a step towards it, the title of King was given to Stanislaus, by a letter from Her Majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in Her Majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guaranty should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while, it was the same thing, as if the forms were passed.

In 1708, King Augustus made the campaign in Flanders; what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: But immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.[2]

After this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guaranty, for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly, because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider, what is our case at present. If the King of Sweden returns,[3] and gets the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, "his enemy, wherever he finds him." In this case the corps of the neutrality is obliged to

[1] In 1707 the danger from Charles XII. of Sweden and his seemingly invincible army was fully appreciated by Marlborough. Louis had taken care to send a secret envoy for the purpose of renewing a friendship which had already subsisted between the French and Swedish crowns under Gustavus Adolphus. This, coupled with Charles's grievance against the Emperor of Austria, made it necessary for the Allies to attempt a conciliation. It was for this purpose that Marlborough visited him at Alt Rastadt. See Coxe's "Marlborough" and Mahon's "Queen Anne." [T. S.]

[2] See note, p. 73. [T. S.]

[3] Charles of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa in 1709 was so complete that he was compelled to fly for his life and seek shelter in the Turkish dominions. His return was of no great moment, for he was slain at the siege of Frederickshall, in Norway, on November 30th, 1718. [T. S.]

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oppose him, and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first is ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade, as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the Protestant interest in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or, who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whose dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those armies which act against France; we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest, to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt, but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, though not in the same degree, after the kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present, are meant to serve their country, directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest ends, would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better, to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, though without adding Spain to the empire: Rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn, for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

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POSTSCRIPT:[1]

[TO THE FOURTH EDITION.]

I have in this edition explained three or four lines in the thirty-eighth page,[2] which mentions the succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe, how ready the adverse party is to make use of any objections, even such as destroy their own principles. I put a distant case of the possibility that our succession, through extreme necessity, might be changed by the legislature, in future ages; and it is pleasant to hear those people quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the consent of the entire legislature.

[I have just seen a paper, called, "An Answer to the Conduct," &c. I am told several others are preparing: I faithfully promise, that whatever objections of moment I can find in any of them, shall be fully answered in a paragraph at the end of the preface in the next edition of this discourse.][3]

[1] Scott states that this postscript, as he printed it, is from the second edition: there is no postscript in the second edition. The text here printed is from the fourth. [T. S.]

[2] The passage alluded to [see p. 84] originally bore, that the guarantee of the Dutch might put it out of the power of parliament to change our succession without their consent, "how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it." This passage was pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Parker to be capable of bearing a treasonable interpretation. [S.]

[3] This final paragraph is from the second edition; it did not reappear in future editions, neither was any addition made to the Preface of the next edition. [T. S.]

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SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER TREATY,

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND

THE STATES-GENERAL.

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NOTE.

THIS pamphlet may be taken as a continuation of the preceding pamphlet, "The Conduct of the Allies." Whereas in this latter treatise Swift dealt with the objection against Continental alliances generally, in dealing with the Barrier Treaty he confines himself to it alone. Scott considers this work, even "at this distance of time, a most extraordinary production of diplomacy."

Shortly after the appearance of Swift's pamphlet there was issued a work entitled: "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, vindicated in a Letter to the Author." As writers have left the consideration of this important pamphlet severely alone, Mr. Dilke, in his "Papers of a Critic" (vol. i., pp. 361-382), entered at length into a discussion as to its authorship. He was of opinion that Bolingbroke wrote it. He admitted that he arrived at this conclusion on insufficient evidence, but Swift presumably could not have written it, since it was not at all likely that he would have addressed a letter to himself written by himself. Mr. Dilke's arguments are too lengthy to quote here; but his conclusions are based on the style of the writing and on internal evidence. Scott takes for granted that the author was Dr. Hare.

The original edition of "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty" does not, of course, include the "Appendix to the Conduct of the Allies." This was published in the "Examiner" on January 16th, 1712-13 (see note, p. 164).

The present text of this pamphlet is based on the original edition, 1712, and collated with the second edition issued in the same year.

[T. S.]

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SOME REMARKS ON THE Barrier Treaty, BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE States-General.

By the AUTHOR of *The Conduct of the ALLIES.*

To which are added,

The said BARRIER-TREATY, with the Two Separate Articles; Part of the Counter-Project; The Sentiments of Prince *Eugene* and Count *Sinzendorf*, upon the said Treaty; And a Representation of the *English* Merchants at *Bruges*.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1712. Price 6 *d.*

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THE PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse called, "The Conduct of the Allies," I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier Treaty at length, with such observations, as I conceived might be useful for public information: But that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the House of Commons.

That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in these affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States, was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project, or scheme of a treaty, was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project; and was the measure whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed, in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States. I have added a translation of this counter-project, in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Count de Sinzendorf,[1] relating to

[1] Prince Eugene of Savoy was the famous general with whom Marlborough acted against the armies of Louis XIV.

Count Sinzendorf was one of the ministers of the Emperor Joseph of Austria and of Charles VI. of Austria. He acted as their representative at several important congresses. See Coxe's "House of Austria" and Coxe's "Marlborough." [T. S.]

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this treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt, and further apprehended, from this barrier treaty.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

I MAGINE a reasonable person in China were reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography; he would conceive their high mightinesses the States-General, to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome, and Her Majesty to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well; otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in their stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their protection; and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their out-lying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expense; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her Queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all Her Majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very *powerful motives* to the chief advisers (I say nothing of the

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person immediately employed); and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the preface: Her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more, where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible that "our good allies and friends" could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to them, where so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, surely might have remained, which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us, and which the French king has lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, though clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: Among the one-and-twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty till the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a Protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor,[1] Britain and Holland, which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

[1] Emperor Leopold of Austria. [T. S.]

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It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France: But their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined that any of the towns taken, should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the King of Spain: But in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: Here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole revenues of them, to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders. And upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries; and further, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder, that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the King of Spain is "not to possess one single town in the Low Countries, till a peace is made?" The Duke of Anjou at the beginning of this war, maintained six-and-thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed; to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies, it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in the hands of France, and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the King of Spain is

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obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add, over and above, a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot, without some contempt, take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lille and some others: Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain: And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury; what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King Charles the Third,[1] that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose by a Dutch barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States; yet even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty, can be of no

[1] This was the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, who was proclaimed King Charles III. at Vienna on September 12th, 1703. On his accession to the throne of Austria as Charles VI., in succession to Joseph I., he still called himself King of Spain; but the Treaty of Utrecht gave the crown to Philip. The true King Charles III. of Spain was born in 1716, four years after Swift wrote this tract. [T. S.]

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use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says, "that Dendermonde, Ostend, and the Castle of Ghent, do in no sort belong to the barrier, nor can be of other use than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England." And further, "That those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that Lierre, and Hal to fortify, can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that these places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant."

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace; the States have power to send arms, ammunition and victuals without paying customs; under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive to all other nations. This, Prince Eugene likewise foresaw, and, in his observations upon this treaty here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think, that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on, and conquer for them as long as they please. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them "whatever shall be thought necessary" besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of Her Majesty's subjects conceive, that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand, or our ministers allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse in those very towns, than they were under the late King of Spain? Yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: All goods going to, or coming from Nieuport or Ostend, are to pay the same duties as those that pass by the Scheldt under the Dutch forts; and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that "after they have paid the King of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are

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made liable to further duties, when they are carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests"; and desire only "the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II." And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off 8 *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising; in the very same article where "our good friends and allies" are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the Queen is obliged to procure that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or "as the people most favoured." This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys' play, "Cross I win, and pile you lose;" or, "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now if it should happen that in a treaty of peace, some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever; I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys' play, and "challenge half" by virtue of that article: Or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among "what shall be thought necessary" for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come: But this is Dutch partnership, to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of "The Conduct of the Allies, &c.," among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be guarantee to our succession; because by that means "we put it out of the power of our own legislature to alter the succession, how much

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soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it?" To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in the following editions.[1] I was assured that my lord chief justice[2] affirmed that passage was treason; one of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which, perhaps, might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but the distinction is thus, the Whigs are for changing the succession when they think fit, though the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution-principles think it impossible that we should ever have occasion *again* to change our succession? And if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy, till the Seven Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender? Their high mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their

[1] See note on p. 123. [T. S.]
[2] Lord Chief Justice Parker. [T. S.]

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piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind, is like to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution: And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come, such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: The Queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty, of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier even before King Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance, Her Majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, "except in a general treaty."

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier: Popish princes are here invited among others, to become guarantees of our Protestant succession: Every petty prince in Germany must be entreated to preserve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne: The King of Spain is invited particularly and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles, and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces: A clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, till that entire monarchy were yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then

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made him wait at table while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes, to lend their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswyck,[1] no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in Her present Majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain, after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an "omission," and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me whether it were a *wilful omission* or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of His late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of *some certain persons* in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of "The Conduct of the Allies, &c." and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth.[2] I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his First Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after,[3] and if it arrived at

[1] See note, p. 67. [T. S.]

[2] This was Dr. Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, and successively Bishop of St. Asaph and Bishop of Chichester, who wrote, in four parts, "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended." See note on p. 170. [T. S.]

[3] To which Hare replied: "Falsehood on the wings of power moves swift, and spreads apace, but in the nature of it is short-lived, and dies soon; while truth, to use this author's words, 'limps but slowly after;'

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all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: Of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: Yet, after all, he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing in plain words, that the burthen of the war has chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that, next to England, they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think that my intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, though perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me, as they please. But, I think, the great point of controversy between us, is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine: And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin, by a "most successful and glorious war" of ten years, under an "able, diligent, loyal ministry; a most faithful, just, and generous commander;" and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies: This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of *** who playing at hazard at the groom-porters' in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat: The company thought it had been one of his servants: When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won: "Yes," said he, "I held in very long; yet, methinks, I have

but where it is received, its impressions last: and though it may perhaps, as he says, 'arrive too late,' arrive it will" (Part IV. of "The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," p. 84). [T. S.]

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won but very little:" They told him, his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced, justified by the public voice; which let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest: And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition,[1] and made all possible enquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of: I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: To give one instance in this gentleman's Third Part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the "most petty princes," he says, I mean "crowned heads:" When I say, "the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home:" He says I call kings and crowned heads, "robbers and highwaymen." This is what the Whigs call answering a book.[2]

[1] See note on p. 56. The correction first appeared in the fourth edition. [T. S.]

[2] The following is the passage in Hare's pamphlet referred to by Swift: "Here is a general character of all the princes to whom we pay subsidies. Is this language fit for sovereign princes; for estates and crowned heads? Are ten or a dozen princes to be branded with such words of infamy at once? Should not the Elector of Hanover, at least, be in decency excepted from the common herd? . . . . And shall it be permitted to an insolent scribbler, to treat in this licentious manner, princes, who are our friends, in the same interest with us, and two of the same religion? For under this character of petty princes, are included, and indeed principally intended, the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. . . . These are some of the princes, who we are told must do that, the sound of which the meanest man of common honesty abhors, ROB, or starve, if it were not for our subsidies. If this author be in the secret, what must we think of our alliances? For this is the language of an enemy: 'tis the language which a generous enemy would scorn to use. I can't but think from many passages in this book, and this, among others, that the writer of it is at bottom an enemy to every thing an Englishman has a value for; to our trade, to our succession, to our religion, to all alliances that are for our security, to every thing that interferes with the interest of France, to faith,

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I cannot omit one particular, concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts, and contradicting mine: He affirms, "that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state."[1] It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind either of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: Which I here affirm, with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general: We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: Our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it: We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal, we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress, called for our assistance, become, by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us, from that country which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us, in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES GENERAL.

Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and the security of their kingdoms

honesty, and good manners; else so many things could not fall from him, that are not consistent with any other character."—"The Allies and the late Ministry Defended," Part III., p. 53, *et seq.* [T. S.]

[1] William Gregg. See note on p. 30. [T. S.]

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and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side the succession to the crown of Great Britain, in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, That the said States General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France, and others, who would surprise or attack them: And Her Majesty and the said States General apprehending, with just reason, the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen, in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person or any power who should call it in question; and, That the countries and states of the said lords the States General, were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons, Her said Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, though in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health, (which may God preserve her in many years) out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter, with the lords the States General of the United Provinces, into a particular alliance and confederacy, the principal end and only aim of which, shall be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view that Her British Majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she has already with the lords the States General of the United Province, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of Her British Majesty, captain of Her said Majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk: And the lords the States General of the United Provinces, to the Sieurs John de Welderen, Lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betuwe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick Baron of Reede, Lord of Lierre, St. Anthony and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, Lord of Spanbrook Bulkesteyn, &c. Gideon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of

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accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterhof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords the States General on the part, respectively, of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Friesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who, by virtue of their full powers, are agreed upon the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

The treaties of peace, friendship, alliance and confederacy between Her Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inserted word for word.

II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament passed the twelfth year of the reign of His late Majesty King William the Third; the title of which is, "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject:" And lately, in the sixth year of the reign of Her present Majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the "greater security of Her Majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c. in the line of the most serene House of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born:" And though no power has any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject, by the crown and parliament of Great Britain, if it should happen, nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person, or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament has made of the aforesaid succession, in the most serene House of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and con-

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spiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; The States General engage and promise to assist and maintain, in the said succession, her or him to whom it shall belong, by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession.

III.

Her said Majesty and the States General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, the 7th of September, 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

IV.

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will use her endeavours to procure, that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following: Namely, Nieuport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lille, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from hence-

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forward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroi, Namur and its citadel, Lierre, Hal, to fortify, the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Ghent, and Dendermonde; the fort of St. Donas being joined to the fortifications of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rhodenhuysen, on this side Ghent, shall be demolished.

VII.

The said States General may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

IX.

The said States General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusively of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of King Charles the Third.

X.

That, besides, the said States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places and forts which belonged to them,

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and repair the fortifications of them, in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

XI.

It is agreed, That the States General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain, at the time of the death of the late King Charles the Second; and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expenses, in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expenses, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid, as much as possible; and particularly for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lille, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatever, nor be put into the power or under the authority of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

XIII.

And whereas the said States General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles the Third, for putting the

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States in a condition of safety, by means of the said barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars, relating to the barrier of the States, may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that Her said Majesty will continue her good offices, till the above-mentioned convention, between the States and the said King Charles the Third, be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that Her Majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

XIV.

And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the meantime the said King Charles the Third shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part; and during that time the Queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year above-mentioned.

XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster,[1] in the fourteenth article, That the river Scheldt, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, That the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders, shall be and remain charged with all such imposts and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Scheldt, and the other canals above-mentioned:

[1] The famous treaty of Munster was concluded June 30th, 1643, and by it Spain acknowledged the new Dutch Republic, and permitted the States to keep their conquests in the Netherlands. It also agreed in shutting up the navigation of the Scheldt. See Coxe's "House of Austria," vol. ii., pp. 330-331 (Bohn edition). [T. S.]

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The Queen of Great Britain promises and engages, That their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession, in that respect, neither directly or indirectly; as also that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the sea-ports, than by the rivers, canals and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas by the 16th and 17th articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the King of Spain, is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hansetowns, who were then the people the most favourably treated; Her Britannic Majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise, to take care that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low Countries, as well as in all Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as favourably as the people the most favoured.

XVI.

The said Queen and States General oblige themselves to furnish, by sea and land, the succours and assistance necessary to maintain, by force, Her said Majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most Serene House of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the said States General in the possession of the said barrier.

XVII.

After the ratifications of this treaty, a particular convention shall be made of the conditions by which the said Queen, and the said lords, the States General, will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

XVIII.

If Her British Majesty, or the States General of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever, by

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reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And Her British Majesty, and the States General of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

XX.

And as time has shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswyck in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England, in the person of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain now reigning; and that for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of Her Majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain, after the death of the late King William the Third, of glorious memory: Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, do agree and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of Her Majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most Serene House of Hanover, to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged, as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation nor formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into, but jointly and at the same time with the said Queen, or with her ministers.

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XXI.

Her British Majesty, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty, within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing: In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States General have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The Separate Article.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May, 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other things, that the lords the States General shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also that the garrisons which are or hereafter shall be on the part of the lords the States General in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liège, and in the town of Bonn, shall remain there, till it shall be otherwise agreed upon with His Imperial Majesty and the empire. And as the barrier which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty, for the mutual guaranty between Her British Majesty and the Lords the States General, cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together; for which

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the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liège, Huy and Bonn, are absolutely necessary: Experience having thrice shewn, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces. That further, in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, His Majesty King Charles the Third will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places, than that equivalent can avail. So that to the end the lords the States General may have the upper quarter of Guelder, with entire property and sovereignty, and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States General, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with His Majesty King Charles the Third, according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also that their garrisons in the citadel of Liège, in that of Huy and in Bonn, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with His Imperial Majesty and the empire, Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, engages herself and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this as she has engaged herself to make, for their obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low Countries. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and deputies of the lords the States General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

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The Second Separate Article.

As the lords the States General have represented, That in Flanders, the limits between Spanish Flanders, and that of the States, are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas van Gent, under pretence, that it was upon the territory of Spain. And as it is necessary for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniencies, that the land of the States, upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns and forts should, by that means, be better covered; Her British Majesty entering into the just motives of the said lords the States General in this respect, promises and engages herself by this separate article, That in the convention that the said lords, the States General, are to make with His Majesty, King Charles the Third, she will so assist them, as that it may be agreed, That by the cession to the said lords, the States General, of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security, and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places and forts, to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty, and deputies of the lords the States General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reed.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

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The Articles of the Counter-project, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch, in the Barrier Treaty: With some Remarks.

ARTICLE VI.

To this end, their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, *viz.* Nieuport, Knokke, Menin, the citadel of Lille, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Liere, Hal to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Ghent.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty, the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz. *Furnes, Ypres, town of Lille, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas (which is to be in property to the States) and the fort of Rhodenhuysen, to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermonde is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Ghent and Sas van Gent, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.*

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said, "in case of an apparent attack or war," without specifying against France: Neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain,

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but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues, in the barrier treaty, are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in possession of the crown of Spain, at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this is to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses, may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles the Third, relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy, at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; especially the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

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ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the 5th and 9th articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States General, concluded the 7th of September, 1701; it is agreed and stipulated, That the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States General; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spanish Low Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France, above-mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience hath shewn of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France, in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade, by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out in that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated

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by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other about demolishing of Dunkirk, those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article; which, I think, clearly shows, the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, though it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and of the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to the Barrier of the States General, to the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologne, and of the Bishopric of Liège.

Although the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go so far, as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the prince and count above-mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion:

First, That the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lierre, Hal to fortify

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and the Castle of Ghent. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to Dendermonde and Ostend, as places in no wise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the Castle of Ghent, can only serve to make the States General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lierre and Hal, those who are acquainted with the country, know, that these towns cannot give any security to the States General, but can only make people believe that these places being fortified, would rather serve to block up Brussels, and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons, in the towns of the barrier, in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, That no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of "such things, as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of:" And that to this end, the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise, the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts and places, where the States General shall have their garrisons, the said prince and count are of opinion, That the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath, as well to the King of Spain, as to the States General: But they may take a particular oath to the latter, That they will not admit foreign troops without their consent, and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States, in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, That they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers, to assist them in the execution: In which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States General, may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places and forts,

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where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expense. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion, That the States General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum, before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made, on this affair, between his Catholic Majesty and the States General, shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his Catholic Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries, than take upon them other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded, That the advantages at this time yielded to the States General, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves, forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers, is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion, That the States General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Roermond, and Steevensweert, with orders to furnish the said States, with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonn, belonging to the Electorate of Cologne and Liège, and Huy, to the Bishopric of Liège; it is to be understood that these being imperial towns, it doth not

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depend upon the emperor to consent, that foreign garrisons should be placed in them, upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States General demand them only for their security, it is proposed, to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests: But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to rase one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier Treaty.

David White, and other Merchants, Her Majesty's Subjects residing at Bruges, and other Towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent,

That whereas the cities of Lille, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war, by the united forces of Her Majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States General; and that we Her Majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade, as the said States General shall think fit to impose on us: We humbly hope and conceive, That it is Her Majesty's intention and design that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States General, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands, to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other product of Her Majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others from their dominions, by a free pass or *transire*, to the said new conquests: And we are under apprehension that if the said new conquests be settled or given entirely into the possession of the States General for their barrier, (as we are made believe

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by a treaty lately made by Her Majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague) that the said States General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier, by which Her Majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of Her Majesty's dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scotch salt, malt spirits or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c. It is therefore humbly conceived, That Her Majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands, and the new conquests or barrier, with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of Her Majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, That the product and manufacture of the new conquests may also be exported without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies, without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lille, such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods, &c.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, To be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France, on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswyck. The enlarging Her Majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

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AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES;[1]

AND

REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

"Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit."
CICERO *pro C. Balbo.*

I BEGIN to think, that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or the Hague, and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the sea-coast, or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly necessary, that "Chamberlayne's Present State,"[2] or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution and laws; with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible, that as things now stand,

[1] "I gave the 'Examiner' a hint about this prorogation; and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the *Dutch*, in giving them still more time to submit. It suited the occasion at present."—"Journal to Stella," January 15th, 1712-1713.
This Appendix is reprinted from No. 16 of the "Examiner." T. S.]

[2] "Angliæ Notitia: or, the Present State of England." By Edward Chamberlayne, 1669. Continued by John Chamberlayne, 1704. [T. S.]

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if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses, That Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: That the Queen is supreme over all orders of the realm: That no other prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have any authority and jurisdiction over us: That where the queen, lords and commons, solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation: That the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and, that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: In such a case, 'tis not unlikely, but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this by publicly protesting, that it came from the Jacobites and Frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: For of late that celebrated writer, and two or three of his seconds, have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves towards our allies. So that in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges and glories; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: But let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but Whigarchy only: That they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge an usurped power called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: That they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present, they are informed by their friends, is our case: And besides they are advised by able counsel, that we are only tenants for life, and they being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be

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done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so doth Portugal; and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg, and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain, contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power;" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the bloodshed, expense and labour, to compass these great ends, though Her Britannic Majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry loud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces have declared for peace, and Her Majesty's domestic enemies dread it, as the utter downfall of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing pensionary[1] has scruples; he desires time to look out for something else to demand: There are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats; we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and

[1] Pensionary Heinsius. [T. S.]

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Squire South promises to go directly to Madrid, the next time we shew him the way thither.[1]

Her Majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign, and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such a thing as gratitude, justice, or humanity in Europe. This conduct of Her Majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have underhand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to enquire; since whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dutch have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to Her Majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions; such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations, with which the writings of the Whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when Her Majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: Our happiness will not be put off, till they, who have ill-will at us, can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect, is time to come in, and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable.

[1] See Arbuthnot's "The History of John Bull." [T. S.]

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The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct, and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they, who now rail and calumniate, will do so still, and who are disposed to give every thing the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

'Tis true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: But the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscall it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons, why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: So happy are we, in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The Whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief, and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagancies, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. 'Twas not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that non-resistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be mutual; but grand alliances are, it seems, of another nature; a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are tied up and entangled, so long as any one confederate adheres to the negative; whilst we are not allowed to make use of the Polish argument, and plead *Non loquitur*. But these artifices are too thin to hold: They are the cobwebs which the faction have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to be swept away with the unnecessary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only advise them to become their fall, like Cæsar, and "die with decency."

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A

LEARNED COMMENT

UPON

DR. HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON.

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NOTE.

DR. FRANCIS HARE (1671-1740) was born in London, and educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge. He was Chaplain-General to the Queen's forces during the war in Flanders, was made Dean of Worcester and of St. Paul's; and, in 1727, created Bishop of St. Asaph, from whence he was translated, in 1731, to the see of Chichester. He died April 26th, 1740. He wrote a few tracts against Bishop Hoadly; and for his share in this Bangorian controversy he was dismissed his royal chaplaincy. He made a bitter enemy of his old friend Bentley by forestalling him in an edition of "Terence," annotated with notes obtained largely from that learned librarian.

Cole thus sums up Hare's character: "That the bishop was of a sharp and piercing wit, of great judgment and understanding in worldly matters, and of no less sagacity and penetration in matters of learning, and especially of criticism, is sufficiently evident from the works he has left behind him; but that he was of a sour and crabbed disposition is equally manifest."

As chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough he preached a sermon, on a day of thanksgiving for crossing the lines at Bouchain, in which he descanted on the war and the dangers of a premature peace. The sermon was published with the title: "The Charge of God to Joshua: in a Sermon Preached before his Grace the Duke of Marlborough at Avenes le Sec, September 9, 1711, being the Day of Thanksgiving for passing the Lines, and taking Bouchain."

Swift, naturally, took the sermon in hand; but whether he wrote the "Learned Comment" in reply, or suggested the lines of its composition to Mrs. Manley, is not certain. In his letter to Stella, under date November 3rd, 1711, he writes: "Comment on Hare's Sermon, by the same woman [the author of the 'Atalantis']; only hints sent to the printer from Presto, to give her." But this statement counts for little when the "Comment" is carefully read. We agree with Scott, who suggests a comparison between it and the "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction," and considers it to be in many passages not inferior to the latter in poignancy. In a previous letter to Stella (October 22nd, 1711), Swift speaks of having either written or contributed to the writing of five pamphlets, "except the best, which is the 'Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough,' and is entirely by the author of the 'Atalantis.'"

If Mrs. Manley had any second inspirer it was Bolingbroke. Hare's sermon and his pamphlet on "Bouchain; or, a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner," which followed it, were regarded by the

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Secretary as Marlborough's opinions. In a letter which Bolingbroke wrote, with the knowledge that the Duke might read it, he remarks: "My Lord Marlborough's stupid chaplain continues to spoil paper. They had best, for their patron's sake, as well as their own, be quiet, I know how to set them in the pillory, and how to revile fellows that will write them to the devil." The "Vindication," which Swift considers the best of these attacks on Marlborough, and as entirely by Mrs. Manley, was the outcome of Bolingbroke's inspiration.

Swift also gave suggestions to Mrs. Manley for the writing of "A True Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," 1711, and "A True Relation of the Intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birthday," 1711. His share, however, in both these pamphlets is so small, that I have omitted them from this collection of Swift's writings.

With reference to the former of these two tracts, Swift writes to Stella, April 16, 1711; "what you will read in the narrative I ordered to be written." In the "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry," he states that he furnished some materials to the editor. Later he told Stella that "the facts were sent by Presto" (himself).

His reference to the second tract is in the Journal to Stella, under date, November 26, 1711—"I have put an understrapper upon writing a two penny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design."

The "Learned Comment," so far as Swift's own statement of authorship is concerned, is on a same footing with these two tracts; but on internal evidence it points to a more lively and personal interest than his words imply. For this reason it has been included here. The text given is that of the first edition, collated with that given by Scott.

[T. S.]

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A

Learned Comment

UPON

Dr. HARE's Excellent Sermon

Preach'd before the

D. of Marlborough,

On the Surrender of

BOUCHAIN.

By an Enemy to PEACE.

Et multis utile Bellum.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall.* 1711. (Price 2 *d.*)

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A LEARNED COMMENT UPON DR. HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON.

I HAVE been so well entertained by reading Dr. Hare's sermon, preached before the Duke of Marlborough and the army, in way of thanksgiving for passing the lines and taking Bouchain, that I can't forbear giving part of my thoughts thereupon to the public. If a colonel had been to preach at the head of his regiment, I believe he would have made just such a sermon; which, before I begin with, I must beg leave to consider the preface, and that stale topic in the publisher, of printing a "discourse without the author's leave, by a copy got from a friend; being himself so modest, that he would by no means hear of printing what was drawn up in so much haste." If the thing be not worth publishing, either the author is a fool, or his friend a knave. Besides, the apology seems very needless for one that has so often been complimented upon his productions; of which we have seen several without either art or care, though published with this famous doctor's consent. A good argument, indeed, is not the worse for being without art or care, but an ill one is nothing without both. If plainness and honesty made amends for every hasty foolish composition, we should never have an end, and every dunce that blotted paper would have the same plea. But the good doctor's zeal for the continuation of the war, must atone for the rest of his defects: His politics and his divinity seem to be much of a size; there is no more of the last in his sermon, than what is to be found in the text; he is so great an enemy to a partition, that he scorns to divide even that.

He begins, p. 5,[1] "I can't but think, that one of the

[1] These references are to the original edition of Hare's sermon, published in 1711. In Scott's edition they are to the fourth volume of the

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properest acknowledgments to God for the manifest tokens we receive of His good providence, is to consider their natural tendency, and what is the true use which He has put into our power to make of them." May we not very well query whether this be sense or truth? The properest acknowledgments to God for the manifest tokens, &c. is to offer Him thanks and praise, and obey His laws. P. 6. "Persevere bravely in the just and necessary war we are engaged in, till we can obtain such a peace, as the many successes He has given us naturally lead to, and by the continuance of the Divine Favour must end in, if we be content to wait His leisure, and are not by our impatience and misgiving fears, wanting to ourselves." At this rate when must we expect a peace? May we not justly enquire, Whether it be God's, or the Duke of Marlborough's leisure, he would have us wait? He is there in an army well paid, sees nothing but plenty, nay profuseness in the great officers, and riches in the general. Profuseness, when they every day in their turns receive the honour of his grace's company to dinner with them: At that sumptuous table which his grace once a week provides for himself and them, the good doctor never considers what we suffer at home, or how long we shall be able to find them money to support their magnificence. I should think the Queen and ministry, next under God, the best judges what peace we ought to make. If by our impatience he meant the army, it was needless and absurd; if he meant our impatience here at home, being so far removed from the scene, and in quite another view, he can be no judge of that.[1]

P. 7. "One would think a people, who by such a train of wonderful successes, were now brought to the very banks of Jordan, could not be so fearful as to stop there, or doubt with themselves, whether or no they should try to pass the river, (quere Senset or Scheldt) and get possession of the land which God had promised them; that they could, with their own eyes, take a view of it (applied to Picardy) and behold it was exceeding good," &c. Our case and the Israelites is very different: What they conquered they got for themselves; we take a view of the land, as they did, and,

bishop's works (1746); but Scott reprinted Nichols's text, whereas the text of the "Comment" here given is that of the original issue. [T. S.]

[1] Because he was with the army, and its chaplain-general. [T. S.]

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"behold it to be exceeding good," but good for others: If Joshua had spent many years in conquering the Amorites (with the loss of infinite blood and treasure) and then delivered the land over to the Gibeonites, the Israelites might have had good reason to murmur; and that has been our case. P. 7. "It seems incredible, that men should for many years together struggle with the greatest difficulties, and successfully go through innumerable dangers, in pursuit of a noble end, an end worthy of all the pains and trouble they are at, and yet lose their courage as they gain ground," &c. Though this be a falsity, yet to lose courage as we gain ground, may very probably happen, if we squander our courage by the yard, and gain ground by the inch.

P. 7. "Of all the virtues human nature would aspire to, constancy seems to be that 'tis least made for: A steady pursuit of the same end for any long time together, has something in it that looks like immortality" (hath not this flight something in it that looks like nonsense?) "and seems to be above the reach of mortal man." How does a steady pursuit look like immortality? If it looks like immortality, it certainly "seems to be above the reach of mortal men." P. 8. "The earth we live on, the air we breathe, the nourishment we take, every thing about us is by nature subject to continual change; our bodies themselves are in a perpetual flux, and not a moment together the same they were. What place then can there be for a constant steady principle of action amidst so much inconstancy?" If these reasons were true, it would be impossible not to be inconstant: With this old beaten trash of a flux, he might go on a hundred pages on the same subject, without producing any thing new: It is a wonder we had not the grave observation, That nothing is constant but inconstancy. What does all this end in? His first heat and edge shows us indeed a flux of what we did not expect.

P. 9. "And though the end we aim at be the same it was, and certainly nearer." This puts me in mind of a divine, who preaching on the day of judgment, said, "There was one thing he would be bold to affirm, That the day of judgment was nearer now, than ever it was since the beginning of the world:" So the war is certainly nearer an end to-day than it was yesterday, though it does not end these twenty years.

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P. 9. "Such fickle, inconstant, irresolute creatures are we in the midst of our bravest resolutions, when we set out we seem to look at what we are aiming at, through that end of the perspective that magnifies the object, and it brings it nearer to us; but when we are got some way, before we are aware we turn the glass, and looking through the little end, what we are pursuing seems to be at a vast distance, and dwindled almost into nothing." This is strange reasoning. Where does his instrument-maker live? We may have the same constancy, the same desire to pursue a thing, and yet not the same abilities: For example, In hunting many accidents happen; you grow weary, your horse falls lame, or in leaping a hedge throws you; you have the same reason to pursue the game, but not the same ability.

P. 10. "Their zeal perhaps flames at first, but 'tis the flame of straw, it has not strength to last. When the multitude once begin to be weary and indifferent, how easily are they then seduced into false measures! How readily do they give into suspicions against those who would encourage them to persevere, while they are fond of others, who to serve themselves, fall in with their complaints, but at the bottom mean nothing but their own interest." How base and false soever this reproach be, I have set it almost at length, that I may not be charged with unfair quotation. By the company the doctor keeps, and the patrons he has chosen, I should think him an undoubted judge when people mean their own interest; but that I know, conversing only on one side, generally gives our thoughts the same turn; just as the jaundice makes those that have it, think all things yellow. This writer is prejudiced, and looks upon the rest of the world to be as self-interested, as those persons from whom he has taken his observation. But if he means the present ministry, it is certain they could find their own interest in continuing the war as well as other people; their capacities are not less, nor their fortunes so great, neither need they be at a loss how to follow in a path so well beaten. Were they thus inclined, the way is open before them, the means that enriched their predecessors, gave them a pretence to continue in power, and made them almost necessary evils to the state, are now no longer a secret. Did their successors study their own interest with the same zeal, as they do that of

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the public, we should not have the doctor in these agonies for fear of a peace, things would be then as he would have them; it would be no longer a flame of straw, but a solid fire, likely to last as long as his poor countrymen had any materials to feed it: But I wonder he would talk of those who mean their own interest, in such an audience, especially before those "who fall in with their complaints," unless he had given it quite another turn, and bestowed some of his eloquence in showing what he really thinks, that nothing in nature, is so eligible as self-interest, though purchased at the price of a lasting war, the blood and treasure of his fellow-subjects, and the weal of his native country.

P. 11. "This is a misfortune, which free assemblies, and popular or mixed governments, are almost unavoidably exposed to; and 'tis for this reason, so few nations have ever steadily pursued, for any long time, the measures at first resolved on, were they never so right and just; and 'tis for the same reason, that a single power seldom fails at long run to be too hard for a confederacy." A very good argument for this war, a good overture and warning, to make a general for life: It is an excellent panegyric upon arbitrary power; at this rate the French king is sure to get the better at last. This preacher must certainly be an admirable judge of popular assemblies, by living in an army. Such poor writers get a rote and common place of talking, by reading pamphlets, and from thence presume to make general observations upon government, and set up for statesmen. If the Duke of Marlborough be Moses, what promised land is he bringing us to, unless this sermon be preached only to the Dutch? He may have promised them land, and they him something else, and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out of Egypt, does the doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty years, or else it can be no parallel: We may easily see how near the comparison grows. Moses was accused by certain Israelites; "Is it a small thing," say they, "that thou hast brought us out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?" Hath the Duke of Marlborough been suspected of any such design? Moses

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was wroth, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not their offerings, I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them." And to the same purpose Samuel, "Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe," &c. Does the British Moses speak thus to the people? Is there any sort of agreement between them? Nor are we sure of God's commands to go up against the Amorites (p. 13), as the Israelites were, and we have fifty times more reason to murmur. They were carried from the wilderness, "into a land flowing with milk and honey;" we from such a land into the wilderness, that is poverty and misery, and are like to be kept in the wilderness till this generation and the next too are consumed, by mortgages, anticipations, &c. *Ibid.* Where the doctor says, "The country itself, was much too narrow for them," he must certainly mean the Dutch, who never think their frontiers can be too much extended.

The doctor tells us, p. 15, "The justice and necessity of our cause, is little short of the force of a command:" Does God command to fight, because the chaplain-general will have no peace? He asks, "What is bidding us go on, if our successes are not?" At this rate, whenever any new success is gained, or a town taken, no peace must be made. The whole exhortation against peace, which follows, is very proper for the chaplain of an army; it looks like another Essay of the Management of the War. "These successes have generally been so much wanted and so little expected." If we have been ten years at this vast expense, getting successes that we could not expect, we were mad to begin this war, which hath ruined us with all this success. But why this acclamation? Is taking one small town such great success, as points out to us the finger of God? Who is his God? I believe the general has no little share in his thoughts, as well as the present ministry, though upon a quite different consideration. "The clouds have never this war thickened more, or looked blacker than this year (p. 17): Things looked so black on every side, as not to leave us the faintest glimpse of light, we apprehended nothing less than the dissolution of the alliance." Whatever the doctor may be for a preacher, he has proved but an indifferent

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prophet. The general and army may be obliged to him for the dissipation of these clouds, though the ministry are not: Were they the cause that such clouds gathered, "as made him fear an universal storm, which could no way be fenced against?" To hear him run on in praise of the wonders of this campaign, one would scarce believe he was speaking to those very persons who had formerly gained such memorable victories, and taken towns of so much greater importance than Bouchain. Had the French no lines before? I thought Mons, Lille, &c. had been once esteemed considerable places; but this is his youngest child, he does like most mothers, when they are past the hopes of more, they doat upon the youngest, though not so healthy, nor praiseworthy, as the rest of the brethren. Is it our fault, that "three of the princes in alliance with us resolve to recall their troops?" (P. 19.) We brought our *quotas*, if our allies did not, by whose indulgence was it, that some of them have not been pressed more closely upon that head, or rather have been left to do as they please? It is no matter how hard a bargain people pretend to make, if they are not tied to the performance.

P. 18. If "the enemy are stronger than they were," how are we so near our great hopes, the promised land? The affectation of eloquence, which carries the doctor away by a tide of words, makes him contradict himself, and betray his own argument. Yet by all those expressions, we can only find, that whatever success we have, must be miraculous; he says, p. 19, "we must trust to miracles for our success,"[1] which as I take it is to tempt God: Though, p. 20, he thinks, "the most fearful cannot doubt of God's continuance." We have had miraculous success these nine years by his own account, and this year, he owns, we "should have been all undone without a new miracle, black clouds, &c. hanging over our heads;" and why may not our sins provoke God to forsake us, and bring the black clouds again? Greater sins than our inconstancy! avarice, ambition, disloyalty, corruption, pride, drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, blasphemy, ignorance, and all other immoralities and irreligion! These are certainly much greater sins,

[1] Dr. Hare did not say so. Swift garbles his quotations from Hare's sermon in this paragraph. [T. S.]

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and whether found in a court, or in a camp, much likelier to provoke God's anger, than inconstancy. "If we have not patience to wait till He has finished by gradual steps this great work, in such a manner as He in His infinite wisdom shall think fit." I desire the doctor would explain himself upon the business of gradual steps, whether three and twenty years longer will do, or what time he thinks the general and himself may live; I suppose he does not desire his gradual steps should exceed their date, as fond as he seems of miracles; I believe he is willing enough they should be confined to his grace's life, and his own.

What does he mean, p. 21, by "the natural and moral consequences that must lead us?" If those moral consequences are consequences upon our morals, they are very small. "Whatever reason there can be for putting an end to the war but a good one, was a stronger reason against beginning it." Right! so far we allow: "And yet those very reasons that make us in so much haste to end it, shew the necessity there was for entering into it." I am in mighty hope to get out of a squabble, and therefore I had reason to get into it; generally the contrary is true. "What condition should we have now been in, had we tamely let that prodigious power settle and confirm itself without dispute?" It could never settle and confirm itself but by a war. P. 22. "Did we not go into the war in hopes of success?" The greatest argument for going on with the war, is that we may have more success. According to the doctrine laid down by our author, we must never be inclined to peace till we lose a battle; every victory ought to be a motive to continue the war. Upon this principle, I suppose a peace was refused after the battle of Ramillies. "How can we doubt that we shall not still succeed, or that an enemy that grows every day weaker and weaker," &c. The doctor's zeal overbears his memory: Just now the enemy was stronger than ever. P. 23. "If we consider that our strength is from God," &c. Though all men ought to trust in God, yet our Saviour tells us, we ought to regard human means: And in the point before us, we are told (St. Luke, xiv. 31, 32), "That a king going forth to war against another king, sitteth down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet

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him that cometh against him with twenty thousand; or else while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassage, and desireth conditions of peace." Our Saviour was a preacher of peace; St. John, xiv. 27, "Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you," &c. But the doctor chooseth rather to drive on furiously with Jehu; he answers to the question, "Is it peace?" as that king did to the horsemen, "What hast thou to do with peace? Get thee behind me." He saith, "Our ingratitude and impenitence may defeat the surest prospects we have." May we not ask him, whose ingratitude? As to impenitence, I think this paragraph is the only one wherein he vouchsafes, and that but very slightly, in his whole sermon, to remind the people of repentance and amendment; but leaves "a subject so little suited to a day of joy," p. 24, to encourage them to "go on to obtain the end towards which they have made so many happy steps." We differ about that end; some desire peace, others war, that so they may get money and power: It is the interest of some to be in action, others to be at rest: Some people clap their finger upon one point, and say that alone can be a good peace. We say there be many sorts of good peace, of all which we esteem the Queen and ministry to be the best judges. The doctor tells us, p. 23, "Our sins may force us to put an ill end to the war;" he should explain what he calls an ill end; I am apt to think he will think nothing good that puts an end to it, since he saith, "Vengeance may affect not only us, but generations yet unborn:" That they have taken care of already; we have pretty well mortgaged posterity by the expenses of this devouring war, and must we never see an end to it till there is not an enemy left to contend with, for so our author would intimate. In what a condition must we expect to be, long before that? It is very happy for the nation, that we do not lie at the mercy of this gentleman; that his voice is not necessary towards the great end we pant after, the unloading of our burthen, and the mitigation of our taxes. A just and necessary war is an ostentatious theme, and may bear being declaimed on. Let us have war, what have we to do with peace? We have beaten our enemy, let us beat him again: God has given us success, He encourages us to go on. Have we

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not won battles, and towns, passed the lines, and taken the great Bouchain? What avails our miseries at home? A little paltry wealth, the decay of trade, increase of taxes, dearness of necessaries, expense of blood, and lives of our countrymen. Are there not foreigners to supply their places? Have not the loss of so many brave soldiers been offered to the legislature as a reason for calling in such numbers of poor Palatines, as it were to fill up the chasm of war, and atone for the desolation amongst our subjects? If we continue thus prodigal of our blood and treasure, in a few years we shall have as little of the one as the other left; and our women, if they intend to multiply, must be reduced, like the Amazons, to go out of the land, or take them husbands at home of those wretched strangers, whom our piety and charity relieved. Of the natives there will be scarce a remnant preserved; and thus the British name may be endangered once more to be lost in the German.

Were it not for fear of offending the worthy doctor, I should be tempted to compare his sermon with one that some time since made so much noise in the world;[1] but I am withheld by the consideration of its being so universally condemned, nay prosecuted on one side: Perhaps the chaplain-general will not like the parallel: There may be found the same heat, the same innuendoes, upon different subjects, though the occasion be not so pressing. What necessity was there of preaching up war to an army, who daily enrich themselves by the continuation of it? Does he not think, loyalty and obedience would have been a properer subject? To have exhorted them to a perseverance in their duty to the Queen, to prepare and soften their minds, that they may receive with resignation, if not applause, whatever Her Majesty shall think fit to transact. The doctor, without suspicion of flattery, might very well have extolled their great actions, and congratulated with them upon the peace we are likely to enjoy, by which they will be at leisure to reap the harvest of their blood and toil, take their rest at home, and be relieved from the burthen and danger of a cruel war. And as our gratitude will be

[1] The Sermon of Dr. Sacheverell. See vol. iii. of present edition. [T. S.]

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ever due to them for delivering us from our distant enemy the French, so shall we have reason to bless whoever are the authors of peace to these distressed nations, by which we may be freed from those nearer and much more formidable enemies, discontent and poverty at home.

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A NEW

JOURNEY TO PARIS.

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NOTE.

THE Tory ministry had committed itself to a peace; its reason for existence was based on its opposition to the war, and every means were employed, consistent with secrecy and a certain amount of dignity, that should bring this about. For some years there had been living in London a priest named Gaultier.[1] He had come over in the train of Marshal Tallard, after the Peace of Ryswick, but remained behind when the French ambassador left England on Louis's recognition of the Pretender as King of England. He remained, as we learn, to watch events, and to report secretly such matters as might be of value to the French government. Gaultier was acquainted with the Earl of Jersey, and was also connected by family ties with St. John. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, to learn, that when peace proposals were being meditated and discussed, and when the Earl of Jersey suggested the employment of a man he knew for secretly communicating such proposals, Harley and St. John employed Gaultier for the mission. He was accordingly sent to Paris, and one can understand the delight with which the Marquis de Torcy welcomed this envoy who came to offer terms of peace at a time when peace meant the salvation of France.

Torcy, however, was not the man to accept blindly any peace proposals, no matter how eagerly he may have welcomed them; so that the secret negotiations continued for some time. In July of 1711, however, it was deemed necessary that Gaultier, on his next visit to Paris, should be accompanied by a representative who, while worthy of his office, should yet be one whose absence from England would attract no attention. For this purpose Matthew Prior was chosen, and his stay in Paris seems to have proved a success, both politically and socially. Prior's terms, however, were considered, by Torcy and his colleagues, much too demanding, and when he showed them his secret commission, signed by St. John and initialled by Anne, they were not a little astonished to find how limited were his powers. Not wishing to reject the terms for fear of bringing about an entire rupture, M. Mesnager was sent with Gaultier and Prior back to London, in the hope that his eloquence might have a more persuasive force.

The three landed at Deal, only to find themselves taken in charge by a too zealous custom-house official, one John Macky.[2] They were released after much delay, but it required an order from St. John himself. The rumour that French spies had landed in England had, however, got abroad, and in spite of all the attempts made to hush the

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[1] For an account of the Abbé Gaultier, see the "Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy," vol. ii., p. 16.

[2] This John Macky is also the reputed author of the "Characters" on which Swift made such interesting remarks.

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matter up, the arrest was the talk of the town. The ministers in London, as may be expected, were in no very comfortable frames of mind. Apart from the fear of the Whig opposition, they dreaded the discovery that they had been transgressing one of the articles of the Grand Alliance, which stipulated that no negotiations with the enemy should be carried on by one party without the knowledge of the other signatories.

In their predicament Swift, as usual, came to their aid. He wrote the "New Journey to Paris" for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the inquisitive and the suspicious, by giving them an amusing and entirely fictitious narrative of the whole affair.

In his "Letters to Stella" Swift himself gives an account of the writing:

"Aug. 31, 1711. I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take."

"Sep. 11, 1711. This morning the printer sent me an account of 'Prior's Journey'; it makes a twopenny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it, for I dare say it will run. It is a formal grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page; that I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary sent to me to dine where he did; it was at Prior's. When I came in, Prior showed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, 'Here is our English liberty!' I read some of it; said, 'I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought; for had it come into my head, I should certainly have done it myself.'"

"Sept. 12, 1711. The printer told me he sold yesterday a thousand of 'Prior's Journey,' and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite."

"Sep. 24, 1711. 'Prior's Journey' sells still; they have sold two thousand, although the town is empty."

The conclusion of this pamphlet was not by Swift, as he tells Stella: "The last two pages, which the printer got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil the rest."

To Archbishop King, Swift wrote on October 1st, 1711: "There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's 'Journey to France,' pretended to be a translation; it is a pure invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it has had a very great effect."

"Although," says Scott, "Swift, even to Stella, represents the 'Journey to Paris' as mere pleasantry, it was certainly written with a more serious purpose. The cession of Spain to the House of Austria, upon which the former treaty at Gertruydenberg had broken off, is artfully alluded to; and, from the mode in which that part of Mr. Prior's supposed conference should be received, ministers might be enabled to judge whether they might venture to abandon Spain to the House of Bourbon in the event of a peace. In other respects, the high

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tone imputed to the British agent was calculated to assure the public, that their rights were under the management of those who would not compromise the national dignity, while the extreme anxiety of the French king and ministers for a peace, necessarily inferred that Britain might have one on her own terms."

What effect this pamphlet had on the town in general, and on the Whigs in particular, may be gathered from a writer who commented on it in "Seasonable Remarks on a late Journey to Paris." He places its authorship on Swift, and excellently well touches off Swift's character, although he does not miss the opportunity to load him with abuse. Scott notes the ingenuity displayed by Swift in choosing such a person as the supposed Mons. du Baudrier to tell an intended imperfect tale. He considers this tract to have few equals, "even of Swift's more celebrated writings," for the peculiarity of his grave humour.

The text here reprinted is that of the original edition, which has been used to correct that given by Scott.

[T. S.]

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A NEW
Journey to PARIS:

Together with ſome

Secret Tranſactions

Betwcen the

Fr---h K---g,

AND AN

Eng-- Gentleman.

By the Sieur du BAUDRIER.

Tranſlated from the French.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1711. (Price 2 *d*.)

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THE

TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE original of the following discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was sent from France; but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man, giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the author had been one of more importance, and farther trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation; but to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about: and these particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

'Tis plain, he waited at table, carried his master's valise, and attended in his bed-chamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monsieur Prior[1] *made many excuses and apologies,*

[1] Matthew Prior (1664-1721), educated at Westminster and St. John's College, Cambridge. Wrote, in conjunction with Mr. Montague, "The City Mouse and Country Mouse" (1688). Appointed secretary to the English embassy at the Hague in 1691, and secretary to the embassy at the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Was afterwards made under-secretary of state and a commissioner of trade. Took the side of the Tory party on the accession of Anne, and was employed by them to carry on the negotiations which led finally to the Treaty of Utrecht. During these negotiations he was sent to Paris as ambassador, but was recalled early in the reign of George I., and threatened with impeachment. He wrote many light poems, tales, and "Memoirs of his Own Time." With

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because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set up for.

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect from it: To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errors. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks.

reference to this very journey Burnet says: "One Prior, who had been Jersey's secretary, upon his death was employed to prosecute that which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern by the Earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature: he was sent to the Court of France in September to try on what terms we might expect a peace; his journey was carried on secretly; but upon his return he was stopped at Dover, and a packet that he brought was kept till an order came from court to set him free: and by this accident the secret broke out" ("History of His Own Time," vol. vi., pp. 69-70, 1833). The reference to the tavern and Dorset's patronage is marked by Swift with the word "malice," and, indeed, Burnet's manner of stating the fact bears out Swift's note. Prior lived with an uncle who was a tavern-keeper and a vintner; but he attended, at the same time, Westminster School. The Earl of Dorset helped him to pursue his studies at Cambridge. [T. S.]

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TO

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR,

AT

ESTAPLE.[1]

SIR,

I DOUBT not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of Monsieur Prior, an English gentleman's late journey from London to Paris. Perhaps, living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though some years ago he was very much distinguished at Paris, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character, as to tell you, that Monsieur Prior has signalized himself, both as an eminent poet, and man of business; was very much valued by the late King William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland: He was secretary to the English embassy, at the treaty of Ryswick; and afterwards, to my lords the Counts of Portland and Jersey;[2] and, in the absence of the latter, managed, for some time, the affairs of England at our court by himself. Since the reign of Queen Anne he was employed as commissioner of trade; but the ministry changing soon after Queen Anne's coming to the crown, Monsieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the

[1] A sea-port town in the Bolognois. [SWIFT.]

[2] William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland (1649-1709), was born in Holland. He endeared himself to William of Orange by undertaking the dangerous service of sleeping with that prince when he was ill with the small-pox, the physicians of the time recommending the efficacy of the natural warmth of a young person. William of Orange distinguished him with several important offices. [T. S.]

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rigides,[1] was laid aside, and lived privately at Cambridge,[2] where he is a professor, till he was recalled by the present ministry.

About two months ago, our king, resolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson [3] was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of Spain, and that the affairs of the north was changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to send a minister as far as Boulogne, who should be there met by some person from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately dispatched Monsieur de Torcy,[4] in whom he very much confides, to Boulogne, where he took lodgings at a private house in the Faux Bourg, at one Mr. de Marais', marchand de soy, who is married to an Englishwoman, that formerly had been a *suivante* to one of the fore-mentioned English ambassadors' ladies,[5] over against the Hostellerie de St. Jean. Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience, when, late at evening, on Wednesday the 14th of July,[6] a person, whom we afterward knew to be Monsieur Prior, came directly to the door, and enquired for Monsieur de la Bastide, (the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted:) He was immediately shewn unto Monsieur Torcy, where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though Monsieur Prior had rid post from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by Monsieur de Marais, who told me, that

[1] Tories. [*Original edition.*]

[2] A mistake of the author; for, Monsieur Prior did not retire to Cambridge, nor is a professor, but a fellow. [SWIFT.]

[3] Philip of Anjou. [T. S.]

[4] Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy (1665-1746), French Ambassador, and afterwards (in 1688) Minister of Foreign Affairs. Elected a member of the Academy of Science in 1718. His "Memoires" (1756, 3 vols.) form a history of the negotiations from the Treaty of Ryswick to the Peace of Utrecht. [T. S.]

[5] Probably the Countess of Jersey. The overtures of peace were said to have been first made to the Earl of Jersey by his old acquaintance the Marquis de Torcy. [S.]

[6] New style. [*Original edition.*]

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a person of quality, as he suspected, lately come from England, had some occasion for a secretary; and, because he knew I understood the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been conversant with persons of quality, and formerly trusted with secrets of importance, had been so kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to serve him in that quality. I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr. Prior, who accosted me with great civility, and after some conversation was pleased to tell me, I had fully answered the character Monsieur de Marais had given me. From this time, to the day Monsieur Prior left Calais, in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Boulogne and Versailles.

But perhaps, Sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monsieur Prior's journey to Boulogne. It is reported that some time before the peace of Ryswick, King William did dispatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the same account for which he now came: This possibly might be the motive (besides the known abilities of Monsieur Prior) to send him a second time. The following particulars I heard in discourse between Mademoiselle de Marais and her husband, which being no great secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur Prior having received his instructions from the English court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the Chevalier de H——[1] in the province of Suffolk, left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur M——e,[2] who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of Dover, took Monsieur Prior disguised in his chariot: They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Count de Jersey's house in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, drove directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the

[1] Sir Thomas Hanmer (1676?-1746), Speaker of the House of Commons in 1713. He published a very sumptuous edition of Shakespeare, with notes, in 6 vols. 4to, in 1744. [T. S.]

[2] Arthur Moore, M.P. for Great Grimsby. [N.] In the sixth volume to Burnet's "History of His Own Time," Speaker Onslow adds a note (edit., Oxford, 1833) on the career and character of Moore. [T. S.]

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vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in, which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage, and then took post for Boulogne, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with Monsieur Prior he was pleased to talk, as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved, by his discourse, that after he had dispatched his commission with Monsieur de la Bastide (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister) he would return to England; by this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days we continued at Boulogne, where Monsieur de la Bastide and Monsieur Prior had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur Prior did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table; upon the third morning I was ordered to attend early, observed Monsieur Prior to have a pleasant countenance, he asked me what I thought of a journey to England? and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But upon the fourth evening all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in Monsieur de la Bastide's chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage; but a small *valise*, which I suppose contained Monsieur Prior's instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from Boulogne, at a small village called Nesles, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montreuil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident, till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted, and armed

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with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding the coachman to stop. Monsieur de la Bastide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that Monsieur Prior had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could, to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolic of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to Paris; one of them was not unknown to Monsieur de la Bastide. The two cavaliers began to rally me, said I knew how to make a retreat, with some other pleasantries; but Monsieur Prior, (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily, and arrived at Paris on Tuesday the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town our two cavaliers left us, and Monsieur de la Bastide conducted Monsieur Prior to a private lodging in the Rue St. Louis, which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong, was called Monsieur Matthews;[1] I then knew no otherwise; afterwards, at Versailles, I overheard in coversation with Monsieur de la Bastide, that his real name was Prior.

Monsier de la Bastide would have had Monsieur Matthews to have gone with him next Morning to Versailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason. Our minister was very importunate, and Monsieur Prior seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey; perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity that Monsieur de la Bastide should go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his arrival: However

[1] Hence a song called "Matt's Peace, or the Downfall of Trade."

"The News from abroad does a secret reveal,
Which has been confirmed both at Dover and Deal,
That one Master Matthews, once called plain Mat,
Has been doing at Paris the Lord knoweth what," etc. [S.]

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it were, Monsieur de la Bastide made all haste to Versailles, and returned the same night. During his absence, Monsieur Prior never stirred out of his chamber; and after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, that I might bear him company, as he was pleased to express it. I was surprised to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from Calais, at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, which he said, did much exceed even what he had seen in his former journey; for he owned that he had been in France before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his own island, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects, like these, upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, that in our nation we only consulted the magnificence and power of our prince; but that in England, as I was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so divided among the people, that little or nothing was left to their sovereign; and that it was confidently told (though hardly believed in France) that some subjects had palaces more magnificent than Queen Anne herself:[1] That I hoped, when he went to Versailles, he would allow the grandeur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of England, but any other in Europe, by which he would find that what he called the poverty of our nation, was rather the effect of policy in our court, than any real want or necessity. Monsieur Prior had no better answer to make me, than that he was no stranger to our court, the splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which he governed; but for his part, he thought those countries were happier, where the productions of it were more equally divided: Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In these and the like discourses we wore away the time till Mons. de la Bastide's return; who after an hour's private conference with Monsieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprise) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition, myself only attending on horseback, with my important *valise*.

[1] A sly allusion to the splendour of Blenheim. [Edit. 1779.]

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We got to Versailles on Wednesday the 21st, about eleven at night; but instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we stopped at a certain vineyard, that I afterwards understood joined to the gardens of Madame Maintenon's[1] lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted; Monsieur Prior calling to me, bid me search in the *valise* for a small box of writings; after which the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopped at a little postern which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monsieur de la Bastide had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them, desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours, the great clock struck two before they they came out: The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Monsieur de la Bastide left us, to ourselves. I observed Monsieur Prior was very thoughtful, and without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thursday the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, Monsieur de la Bastide came; the house being small, my apartment was divided from Monsieur Prior's by a thin wainscot, so that I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time I could hear Monsieur de la Bastide say, with warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! Were ever such demands made to a great monarch, unless you were at the gates of his metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur Prior, relax something, if your instructions will permit you, else I shall despair of any good success in our negotiation? It is not enough that our king will abandon his grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull him out of the throne?[2] Why

[1] The lady who was secretly married to Louis XIV. in 1685. She had been governess to the children which Madame de Montespan had borne to Louis. Her maiden name was D'Aubigné, being the daughter of Constance D'Aubigné, who was confined in the prison of Niort, where she was born in 1635. She founded the religious society of St. Cyr in the park of Versailles. Died in 1719. Her letters and life have been published in twelve volumes. [T. S.]

[2] The allies at the Treaty of Gertruydenberg demanded, among other things, that Louis XIV. should assist with his own troops to drive his

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did you not open yourself to me at Boulogne? Why are you more inexorable here at Versailles? You have risen in your demands, by seeing Madame Maintenon's desire for a peace? As able as you are to continue the war, consider which is to be most preferred, the good of your country, or the particular advantage of your general; for he will be the only gainer among your subjects?" Monsieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well understand him; but upon parting, I heard him say, "If you insist still on these difficulties, my next audience will be that of leave."

Three hours after Monsieur de la Bastide returned again, with a countenance more composed: He asked Mr. Prior if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendance, I readily offered my service at table,[1] which Monsieur Prior was pleased to accept with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better understanding. Mr. Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Monsieur de la Bastide with much pleasantry, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me. "That Monsieur," says Mr. Matthews, "if he were *un particulier*,[2] would be the most agreeable person in the world." I imagined they spoke of the king, but going often in and out, I could not preserve the connection of their discourse. "Did you mind how obligingly he enquired, whether our famous Chevalier Newton[3] was still living? He told me my good friend poor Despreaux[4] was dead since I

grandson out of Spain if resistance were made to the accession of the Archduke Charles, to whom the treaty gave the crown of that kingdom. Louis offered to pay a proportion of the cost of the troops employed by the allies for that purpose, but he refused to send his own army. Swift was often very bitter against the Whig Ministry of Godolphin for demanding such terms, deeming it a condition imposed so that the negotiations might fail and the war be continued—to the advantage of Marlborough as he insisted. [T. S.]

[1] By this and some other preceding particulars, we may discover what sort of secretary the author was. [SWIFT.]

[2] A private man. [SWIFT.] [3] Sir Isaac Newton. [T. S.]

[4] Monsieur Boileau, the famous French poet. [SWIFT.] Prior was known to Boileau Despreaux; and, notwithstanding the inimitable burlesque translation which Prior had made of the French poet's ode, "Sur la prise de Namur," they were upon as friendly terms as the laureate of Louis could be with the encomiast of William. In his letter

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was in France; and asked me after Queen Anne's health." These are some of the particulars I overheard, whilst at dinner; which confirmed my opinion, that Monsieur Prior last night had an audience of His Majesty.

About ten that evening Monsieur de la Bastide came to take Monsieur Matthews, to go to the same place they were at before: I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in about two hours' time. The moon shone bright, and by Monsieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room, for above an hour, extreme pensive: At length he called to be put to bed; and ordered me to set a candle by his bed-side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *valise* to read.

On Friday the 23d in the morning, Monsieur Matthews was so obliging to call me to him, with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion, and manner of address; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satisfy my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as Versailles; telling me, he should return next day towards Boulogne; and therefore advised me to go immediately to view the palace, with this caution (though he did not suppose I needed it) not to say anything of the occasion that brought me to Versailles.

Monsieur de la Bastide having stayed the afternoon with Monsieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous: My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and half's time Monsieur Matthews, with Monsieur de la Bastide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk: De la Bastide opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. Whilst Monsieur Matthews was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, "*Monsieur, songez vous*, &c. Consider this night on what we have said to you." The gentleman

to Boileau upon the victory of Blenheim Prior thus states their connection:

> "I grant old friend, old foe, for such we are,
> Alternate as the chance of peace and war." [S.]

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seconded her, saying, "*Oui, oui, monsieur, songez vous en pour la dernière fois:* Ay, ay, sir, consider for the last time." To which Monsieur Matthews answered briskly in going out, "*Sire, tout ou rien*, &c. Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your Majesty before." Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom Monsieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monsieur Matthews kept close as before; telling me, a post chaise was ordered to carry him to Calais, and he would do me the grace to take me with him, to keep him company in the journey, for he should leave Monsieur de la Bastide at Versailles. Whilst we were discoursing, that gentleman came in with an open air, and a smiling countenance; he embraced Monsieur Matthews, and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "Courage, Monsieur, no travelling to-day, Madame Maintenon will have me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur de la Bastide told me, we should set out about midnight. He stayed the rest of the day with Monsieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur Matthews took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of Hermitage wine; after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to Calais passed without any accident worth informing you: Mr. Prior, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made speaking uneasy to him; but it was not so at all to me, and therefore I entertained him as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between Chaumont and Beauvais, as I was discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise to beg our charity; one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that showed him to be of a good house, cried out, "*Monsieur, pour l'amour de*

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Dieu, &c. Sir, for the love of God, give something to the Marquis de Sourdis:" Mr. Prior, half asleep, roused himself up at the name of Marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and observing something in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generously threw him a pistole. As the coach went on, Monsieur Prior asked me, with much surprise, whether I thought it possible that unhappy creature could be *un véritable marquis?*[1] For if it were so, surely the miseries of our country must be much greater than even our very enemies could hope or believe? I made bold to tell him, That I thought we could not well judge from particulars to generals, and that I was sure there were great numbers of marquises in France who had ten thousand livres a year. I tell you this passage, to let you see, that the wisest men have some prejudices of their country about them! We got to Calais on Wednesday the 28th in the evening, and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of Monsieur Prior, who thanking me in the civillest manner in the world, for the service I had done him, very nobly made me a present of fifty pistoles, and so we parted. He put to sea with a fair wind, and I suppose, in a few hours landed in England.

This, Sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about Monsieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark.

I am, SIR,
Your most obedient and most
humble servant,
DU BAUDRIER.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The author of this tract having left his master on shipboard at Calais, had, it seems, no further intelligence when he published it: Neither am I able to supply it, but by what passes in common report; which being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat.

[1] A real marquis. [SWIFT.] To this incident Swift refers in his "Journal to Stella," under date September 13th, 1711, when writing on the matter of the pamphlet: "The two last pages, which the printer had got somebody to add, are so romantic, they spoil all the rest." [T. S.]

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SOME

ADVICE

HUMBLY OFFERED

TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB,

IN A LETTER FROM A PERSON OF HONOUR.

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NOTE.

THE country squires, by means of the "Examiner," and the various publications issued at the instigation of the Tory ministers, were fairly roused to indignation by what they were adroitly persuaded to believe, was the character of the leading Whigs. To them it seemed that the ministers were too lax. They should bring such monsters of iniquity to trial, imprison them in the Tower, or place their heads on the block. Nothing would satisfy them but to have all Whigs out of any place of authority or public office. About two hundred of these squires formed themselves into a Club which they called The October Club, from the ale they drank at the Bell Tavern in King Street, Westminster, where they met to talk over politics in general, and the iniquities of these Whigs in particular. St. John by his passionate eloquence helped to put fuel into the fire of their zeal, and they became clamorous. They began to suspect that Harley was something of a hypocrite or time-server, otherwise they could not account for his indulgence. To appease their ardour Swift wrote this extremely clever letter. His business it was to impress the squires with the many State secrets that had to be safeguarded; with the private matters that influenced the men in high position to a policy of restraint; with the probability that the time was not ripe for justice, but that justice would be done nevertheless; in short, with all sorts of hints and insinuations which would form excellent material for bar-parlour discussions, because they contained a modicum of truth and a large amount of seeming special knowledge of mighty matters of State. And Swift did his business excellently well. The result was that the squires had much food for their ruminations, and ceased from becoming a danger because of their well-meant but precipitate partisanship.

The chief members of this Club were: John Aislabie, Francis Annesley, William Bromley, Robert Byerley, Henry Campion, Charles Cæsar, Sir Robert Davers, Charles Eversfield, Ralph Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, John Hungerford, Sir Justinian Isham, George Lockhart, Sir Roger Mostyn, Sir John Packington, Francis Scobel, William Shippen, Sir Thomas Thorold, John Trevannion, Sir William Whitelock, and Sir William Windham.

In his letter to Stella under date January 13th, 1711-1712, Swift writes: "I have made Ford copy out a small pamphlet, and send it to the press, that I might not be known for author; 'tis a letter to the October Club, if ever you heard of such a thing." On the 21st he continues: "I dined to-day in the city, where my printer showed me a pamphlet, called, Advice to the October Club, which he said was

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sent him by an unknown hand; I commended it mightily; he never suspected me; 'tis a twopenny pamphlet." On the 23rd he relates: "I was to-night at Lord Masham's; Lord Dupplin took out my little pamphlet; and the Secretary read a great deal of it to Lord Treasurer; they all commended it to the skies, and so did I, and they began a health to the author. But I doubt Lord Treasurer suspected, for he said, 'this is Dr. Davenant's style,' which is his cant when he suspects me; but I carried the matter very well."

Swift was at first disappointed at the sale of his twopenny pamphlet. He tells Stella, "it does not sell; I know not the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell. You know that is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world; if I had hinted it to be mine, everybody would have bought it, but it is a great secret." However, on February 1st he can report, "the pamphlet of Advice to the October Club begins now to sell, but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland; 'tis finely written, I assure you."

The "Person of Honour" mentioned on the title-page was thought to be Lord Harcourt. It did not, however, trouble Swift much to whom the authorship was ascribed. What he was anxious about was the safety of a ministry in which, at this time, he began to lose confidence. He was not so certain of the ability of St. John and Harley to bring about the peace, and he also saw signs of disunion between these two who, to outward seeming, were such hearty friends. We can understand how anxious he was for Harley's safety in the attempted assassination of this minister by Guiscard, and he bathed in the sunshine of the new popularity which this attempt on his life secured for the Lord Treasurer.

The text of the "Letter of Advice" as reprinted here is substantially that of the first edition; but this has been collated with that reprinted by Faulkner in vol. vi. of Swift's collected works published in 1741.

[T. S.

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SOME

ADVICE

Humbly Offer'd to the

MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB,

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

Perſon of Honour.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1712. Price 2 *d.*

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THE

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

[TO THE SECOND EDITION.]

ABOUT the year when Her late Majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt,[1] *and some others: The first of these being made an earl and lord-treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends for not making a general sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of all their adversaries, upon Her Majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body under the name of the October Club, and had many meetings, to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch, in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members; the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer's sincerity,*

[1] Afterwards Lord Harcourt. Defended Sacheverel at his trial. He filled successively the offices of Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Lord Keeper, and Lord Chancellor. Speaker Onslow says of him: "He had the greatest skill and power of speech of any man I ever knew in a public assembly." As plain Mr. Harcourt he was ordered by the House of Commons to go up to the Lords and impeach Somers for his share in the Partition Treaty. [T. S.]

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with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following Discourse, besides some others which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alleged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to Her Majesty, and had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to Her Majesty such gentlemen whose principles with regard both to church and state, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus, the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty, and abilities to execute them; which, I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club, still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employments should be true loyal churchmen, zealous for Her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the House of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without issue. This Discourse having been published about the year 1711, *and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.*

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SOME ADVICE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session, an incident hath happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured, in some sort, to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: A plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them.[1] I know not whether this opportunity I

[1] He insinuates the queen's favour for the Duchess of Somerset, groom of the stole; by means of whose influence the Whigs hoped to undermine the Tory administration, as that of Lord Godolphin had been destroyed by the intrigues of Mrs. Masham. The only mode of parrying the blow seemed to be the dismissal of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset from their posts near the queen's person. But, in insisting upon this, without the queen's full and voluntary concurrence, the ministers might seem to dictate to her the choice of her personal

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have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very tender point, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors. Though it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no other danger in view: But the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning, and those who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor,[1] which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved of by a certain great minister.[2] It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, though she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from domestic tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge to sharpen his invention: Nothing else is required besides obsequiousness and assiduity, which as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the best and greatest minds.

It was no small advantage to the designing party, that since the adventure at Windsor, the person on whom we so much depend,[3] was long absent by sickness; which hindered

servants, which they had charged as peculiar insolence in the late ministry. [S.] See the "Journal" for December, 1711.

[1] An open rupture between Mrs. Masham and the Duchess of Marlborough. [S.]

[2] The Lord-Treasurer. [S.]

[3] Harley, unfortunately for himself, was often away from court through sickness and family bereavement. [T. S.]

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him from pursuing those measures, that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The negotiators on the other side, improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should lead them out of their coaches into the dirt, that voting, in appearance, against the court, would be the safest course, to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more immediate power, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice,[1] began to act as if all were already in their power.

But, though the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party, and the ministers, had different views or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so little done; that they thought it looked as if people were not in earnest; that they expected to see a thorough change, with respect to employments; and though every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other

[1] Lord Chief Justice Parker, who considered a certain passage in the "Conduct of the Allies" as treasonable. See note on p. 123. Parker had threatened Morphew, the publisher of the pamphlet. "He would not," wrote Swift to Stella (December 13th, 1711), "have the impudence to do this, if he did not foresee what was coming at Court." [T. S.]

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hand, it was urged by some in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one pretender in twenty, and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: But this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent; with twenty other objections, to which it was liable: And indeed, considering the short life of ministries in our climate, it was with some reason thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should, by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, though my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which in all appearance lies so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers upon several accounts, but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, though they dare not convince the present, till it is too late. This letter is sent you, gentlemen, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, though for the rest as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of, ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness that I never yet knew great ministers without, I mean their being deaf to

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all advice; for if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which perhaps are not to be told) 'tis a hundred to one, that he runs into an absurdity: From whence it is that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge; and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts, blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, till it ended in his ruin.[1] I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the strongest shoulders to sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others:[2] These and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern as well as lament, and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding: But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, 'tis hardly possible, that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which has afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay I have known those very men who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints that enough hath not been done, those complaints should not be carried so far as to make us forget what hath been done, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address, were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it through,

[1] This refers to Godolphin, who allowed himself to be carried away by spleen in the Sacheverel trial. He could not, apparently, forgive the preacher for nick-naming him Volpone. [T. S.]

[2] These two errors, the love of procrastination and a desire to do more than was possible with his own hand, belonged to Harley. [S.]

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as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club, would gladly have compounded two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation: It is principally to the abilities of one great person, that you, gentlemen, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the same we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power: And if every thing besides, that you could wish, has not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful though unknown impediments, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed: But there is good reason to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impediments will in a short time be effectually removed. And one great motive to hasten the removal of them, will doubtless be the reflection upon those dangerous consequences which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction, that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least, of all offensive weapons.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry hath been on every side: By the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, though we could continue it many years longer: By the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction to blast all our endeavours for peace, with those popular reproaches of France and the Pretender: Not to mention the dangers they have been in from private insinuations of such a nature, as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are at the helm, will have leisure

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to look about them; and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body which now makes up the adverse party consists of an union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The dissenters with reason think themselves betrayed and sold by their brethren. What they have been told, that the present bill against occasional conformity, was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party, have no other tie but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest; not cemented by principle or personal friendship, I speak particularly of their leaders; and though I know that court enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the fears remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance; I know several of them who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of hunting upon a cold scent, or playing a desperate game, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour; while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late disappointment; they will leave no arts untried, to recover themselves; and it behoves all who have any regard for the safety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope, in the same quarter from whence their last reinforcement came. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much, as a disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a jealousy of the ministry, who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The Tories acknowledge,

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that the Whigs outdid them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other. The Whigs allow the same to the Tories. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtless the Tories are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in punishing, will probably be so in rewarding; though at the same time I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side; because it is, no doubt, a misfortune, to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing: But surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, does service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the Whig leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural to mankind to be more violent in an ill cause than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The court and country party which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for better times and worse princes. The Queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the court and country are of a side; and the Whigs, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed up by the necessities or mistakes of a late good, though unexperienced prince. Court and country ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, till they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, breaks and beggars their landed enemies. The ruin of the church would please the dissenters, deists, and socinians, whereof the body of their party consists. A commonwealth, or a protector, would

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gratify the republican principles of some, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, gentlemen, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the secret instruments of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from some late incidents more visible than formerly. Neither do I believe, that any one will now make a doubt whether a certain person[1] be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

When it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man has not that power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of good will, and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power; especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is sometimes forced to preserve his credit, by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what *is not;* or perhaps for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers, either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive that ministers may happen to suffer for the sins of their predecessors, who by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever has been long confined, is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint even from those who have been the instruments of

[1] The Lord Treasurer. [S.]

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setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power; which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded.[1] In such a juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to prevent an ill man from coming in.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, gentlemen, or others who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion, yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality which have been laid to their charge. Or suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced) yet the consequences of any resentment at this time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can imagined; for if the present ministry be made so uneasy that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those whose little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors' loins. The Whig faction is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance. But these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person or his crown, or even

[1] That Queen Anne had learned the lesson taught her by Harley of acting for herself much too well for the convenience of her ministers is obvious from her conduct in cherishing at once two favourites of such inconsistent principles as the Duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham. Swift repeatedly complains of her exercise of her free-will in the "Journal to Stella." [S.]

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for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasures applied to feed the avarice of those who make themselves his keepers; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his family purged at pleasure by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king, no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, till this domestic enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

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A COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

(From "The Examiner," vol. iii., Number 21. From Friday, January 30th, to Monday, February 2nd, 1712.)

"Beware of counterfeits, for such are abroad."
DR. SAFFOLD'S *Quack-bill.*

"Quin, quæ dixisti modo,
Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum."
PLAUTUS.

"Parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras."
VIRGIL (*Æneid*, iv. 176).

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NOTE.

ERASMUS LEWIS, at the time of the writing of this paper, was a trusted agent of the ministers, and secretary to Lord Dartmouth. He represented Lostwithiel in parliament, and was, afterwards, secretary to Harley, Earl of Oxford. Swift always speaks of him in high terms. Nichols quotes a memorandum written by Swift on the back of one of Lewis's letters which attests the deep regard Swift had for his friend: "Lewis, who is wiser than ever he was; the best of husbands; I am sure I can say, from my own experience, that he is the best of friends; he was so to me, when I had little hopes I should ever live to thank him." Gay, in his "Mr. Pope's welcome from Greece," mentions him as one "who has never friend forsaken."

The occasion for writing this paper arose from the fact that Lewis had been accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Court of St. Germains. How this rumour spread out is detailed by Swift here and in his letters to Stella. On January 27th, 1712-13, he writes to Esther Johnson: "My friend Lewis has had a lie spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort (lords now with the Pretender) for his great services, etc. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it." Four days later he tells her: "I was in the city with my printer to alter an 'Examiner,' about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks." On the 1st February he concludes: "I could do nothing till to-day about the 'Examiner'; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said; and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it; so that I was neither at Church nor at Court."

Neither this pamphlet nor the affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, Charles Ford, and Brigadier Skelton, prevented the Whigs from making all the capital they could out of this matter. Their attitude may be further studied in the "Flying Post" for February 3rd, and in a collection of Whig tracts and lampoons published in 1714, among the latter of which is a satirical ballad, entitled, "Lewis upon Lewis, or the Snake in the Grass."

The Dr. Saffold from whose poem Swift quotes a line as one of the texts for his paper, succeeded William Lilly in the practice of medical quackery and astrology. He is mentioned by Garth in the "Dispensary." I have been unable to procure a copy of any publication in pamphlet form of this paper, nor am I aware that any such was issued). The present text is that of the original "Examiner."

[T. S.]

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A COMPLETE REFUTATION OF THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST ERASMUS LEWIS, ESQ.

[Feb. 2, 1712-13.]

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein, I hope, at the same time, to do some service to the public. A monstrous story hath been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust, under the principal secretary of state; who hath conducted himself with so much prudence, that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth,[1] concerning whom a story hath run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader, who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

[1] Lord Dartmouth was Secretary of State with St. John. He was a proud, grave person, from whom Swift could never "get a dinner." His annotations to Burnet's "History of his Own Time" are pretty free and to the point. Swift, in the twenty-sixth number of the "Examiner," helps us to realize the man by the following character sketch: "My Lord Dartmouth is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour, of strict virtue and regularity of life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the queen." [T. S.]

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On Sunday last was month,[1] Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton,[2] met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz. the Earls of Sussex and Finlater, the Lady Barbara Skelton, Lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter;[3] who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the dispatch of a licence, under the privy-seal, by which Mr. Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, "he would wait on him at his house to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the Earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough Street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis[4] appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words; "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken: I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing my privy-seal." Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis answered, "Sir, there is no harm done:" Upon which Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my Lord Sussex, who stayed for him in the coach, and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's without more particular directions, and this was the occasion of the mistake.

[1] *Sic.* [T. S.]

[2] Charles Skelton, a Roman Catholic, and a general officer in the service of France. He married Lady Barbara Leonard, daughter of the Earl of Sussex. [T. S.]

[3] Thomas Leonard, Lord Dacre, was created Earl of Sussex, October 5th, 1674. He married the Lady Anne Fitzroy, the natural daughter of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland.

James Ogilvy, Earl of Finlater, was one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.

Charles Scarborough was, at this time, one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. Miss Scarborough was a maid of honour.

Lady Walter was the wife of Sir John Walter, of the Board of Green Cloth, whom Swift styled "an honest drunken fellow." [T. S.]

[4] Mr. Henry Lewis [Levi], a Hamburg merchant. [T. S.]

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For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but on Saturday the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr. Skelton, going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, "that he had services for him from the Earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons more of the court of St. Germain's."[1] When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he writ to the above-mentioned Henry Levi *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr. Lewis writ a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and Charles Ford, Esq,[2] went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared, "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffeehouses in town, to do Mr. Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis, "Whether Mr. Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis answered, "he was positive Mr. Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in, and Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis excused it as unnecessary, "because he had already said, he would do him justice in all the coffeehouses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis replied, "That he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at

[1] James Drummond, the fourth Earl of Perth, was Justice-General of Scotland in 1682. Two years later, and both under Charles and James II., he held the Lord-Chancellorship of Scotland. He followed the fortunes of the outlawed king and died at St. Germains in 1716. The Earl of Perth's second son was created Earl of Melfort by James II. in 1686, and Duke of Melfort at St. Germains. He died in 1714. For an account of Lord Middleton, see note on p. 257. [T. S.]

[2] Swift's great friend. He was appointed Gazetteer in 1712 through Swift's influence. He lived in Ireland for some time, but died in London in 1741. [T. S.]

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home; and in the mean time the said Levi went to White's chocolate-house, where notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as "That when Mr. Skelton and the Earl of Sussex came to his house, they stayed with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The Earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to enquire into the truth of this matter; and after some search, found Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis at the Thatched-house Tavern, where he denied every thing again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the Queen, Her Majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this enquiry; and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi *alias* Lewis and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi *alias* Lewis was called in, he declared, "That Mr. Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, Esq; who was summoned, affirmed, "That he had told him, Mr. Skelton named the Earl of Perth and Melfort." Levi *alias* Lewis appeared in some confusion; for he had entreated Mr. Pulteney, "not to say he had named any names, for he would not stand to it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "You may give yourself the lie; I won't." The Earl of Sussex declared, "he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "That he knew Mr. Lewis by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The Earl of Finlater, and other persons summoned, declared, "That Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him: So that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

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If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed, since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of humankind. But as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles, or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, Esq,[1] who being desired by this same Mr. Levi, to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report, seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he hath nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that in the *Daily Courant* of Saturday last, he hath published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton, wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This Narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding, and can foretell him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story, will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will any

[1] William Pulteney (1682-1764) was a strong opponent of the Harley Administration. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Christ Church, Oxford. As the friend of Sir Robert Walpole he was, on the accession of George I., made a Privy Councillor and Secretary for War. The friendship between Walpole and himself was not of long duration, for he led the opposition against that minister. He joined Bolingbroke in editing "The Craftsman," and on Walpole's resignation in 1741 was created Earl of Bath. As a commoner he was very popular, but his popularity declined when he accepted the peerage. [T. S.]

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body interpret it, otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature, left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that Narrative of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which, whither he would avoid, by an oath only upon the Gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in this aforesaid Narrative in the *Daily Courant*, "That Mr. Skelton, mistaking him for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible, that among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the Earls of Perth, Middleton and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffeehouses? Again, he declared, "That my Lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank tea with him," and therefore whatever words passed, my Lord Sussex must be a witness to: But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach; and that Mr. Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute:" Therefore, now in his printed Narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my Lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton, so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his Narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis, have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides in this Narrative, Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom he twice or

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thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's Narrative which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went further than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark. By the true account given in this paper it appears, that Mr. Skelton, finding his mistake before he spake a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and by way of apology told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons, and then it was easy to find names: Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.[1]

[1] This account was published February 2nd, and was confirmed in the "Gazette" of the following day by three advertisements, containing the respective affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, Esq., Charles Ford, Esq., and Brigadier Skelton. [N.]

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SOME REASONS

TO PROVE THAT NO PERSON IS OBLIGED BY HIS PRINCIPLES, AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE HER MAJESTY OR HER PRESENT MINISTRY.

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.

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NOTE.

In a note to his reprint of this tract Nichols thinks (Suppl. to Swift's Works, vol. i., p. 199, 1779) the Whig Lord for whom this letter was intended was Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough. The same authority, however, finds from a MS. note of Charles Ford, Swift's intimate friend, that the Whig Lord was Lord Ashburnham, who married Lady Mary Butler, daughter to the Duke of Ormond. The latter seems to be the more likely surmise; having once been a Whig, he was, at the time the letter was written, a Tory, and showed symptoms of going back to his old party friends. It matters little, however, to what particular individual the letter was addressed, since Swift intended an appeal to all those persons who might be wavering in their political faiths. As Mr. Churton Collins (see his "Study of Swift," p. 109) points out: "Its design is to confirm the Tories in their allegiance to their chief, and to make converts of the doubtful Whigs." Moreover, it is also, in effect, "an elaborate defence and justification of Harley's policy of compromise," and as such, ably supports his advice to the members of the October Club.

In his letter to Stella, 17th June, 1712, Swift writes: "Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the 'Letter to a Whig Lord.'"

The text of the present edition is that of the original issue, by John Morphew, in 1712, compared with that of the quarto edition of the Works, published in 1779 (vol. xiv.).

[T. S.]

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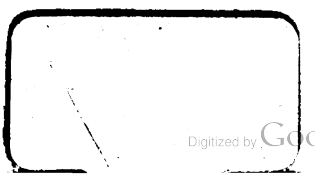

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